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The Society wishes it to be understood that responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of the authors, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.

PREHISTORIC HABITATION SITES AT GRASSINGTON, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By P. J. Cherry

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this report is to record a limited survey of Lea Green, Grassington, and surrounding areas, for artefactual evidence of prehistoric habitation. My family and I were engaged in a survey of areas of comparable limestone uplands in eastern Cumbria (Cherry & Cherry 1987) the results of which suggest significant connections with Eastern Yorkshire as a source of flint from the Late Mesolithic to the Early Bronze Age, and although the presence of neolithic and bronze-age flint artefacts on Lea Green is well known (Raistrick 1938) there was no modern publication giving details of site distribution, artefact typology and affinities or raw materials used comparable to that available for the Yorkshire Wolds (Manby 1974, 1975). The present survey was therefore begun to provide information for comparison with the evidence from those areas.

All the artefacts described have been found in molehills or rabbit scrapes and true associations between groups of artefacts cannot be shown. Also, it should be noted that many of the assemblages have probably been systematically denuded of arrowheads and other visually attractive specimens by collectors for many years. Nevertheless, it has been possible to establish that the distribution of finds is not random but comprises a number of discrete scatters of flint, chert and volcanic tuff artefacts, rarely more than 20 m across. A sketch map of sites is at Figure 1, and selection of artefacts is shown in Figures 2 and 3. A small number of fragments of prehistoric and later pottery has been found and a note of these by T. G. Manby is at Appendix 1. A report on a collection of fragments of polished stone implements by R. G. Davis is at Appendix 2.

DESCRIPTION OF SITES

The area in question consists of a strip of carboniferous limestone, bounded on the west by the River Wharfe, on the south by the town of Grassington and to the east by the gritstone moorland of the Pennines. To the north, the strip of limestone becomes progressively steeper and narrower, offering less obvious scope for prehistoric activity.

The terrain rises from the river towards the east in a series of 'terraces', alternating steeper scarps with more level ground. This survey has concentrated on an area of undulating ground mainly between the 250 m and 300 m contours, patchily covered with glacial till, and with significant areas of exposed limestone pavement. The entire area is covered by the remains of well known field systems which may date from the later Prehistoric to Medieval Period, but is today under permanent grassland.

For ease of reference, sites have been divided into four areas, namely Lea Green, Bastow Wood, Sweet Side, and Conistone Old Pasture. The finds to date are summarised in Tables 1 and 2.

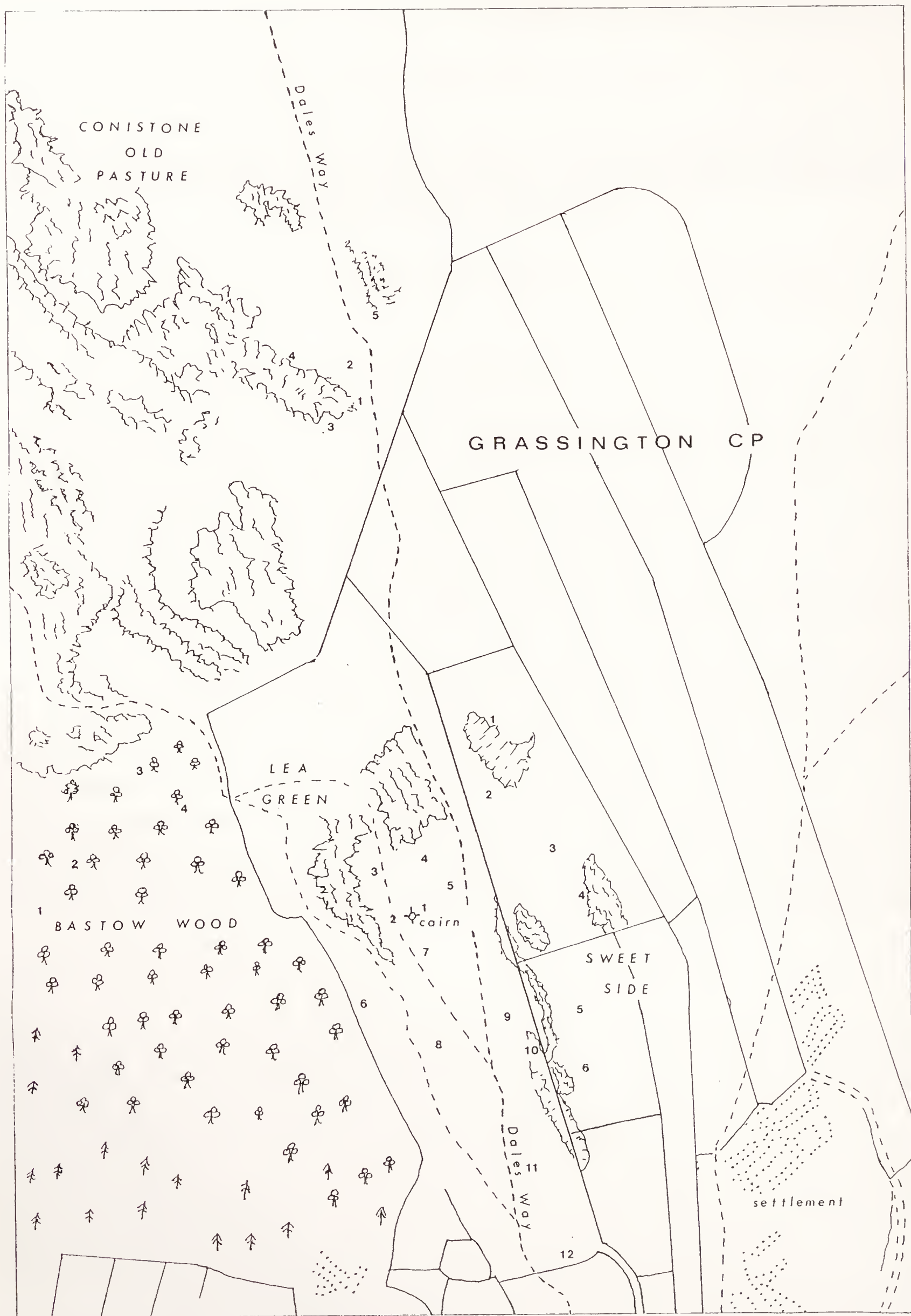


Fig. 1. Area north of Grassington, showing location of sites.

TABLE 1: Analysis of artefacts

| | LEA GREEN | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| A) Flint | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Waste flakes | 154 | 61 | 60 | 38 | 33 | 11 | 21 | 15 | 20 | 15 | 2 | 2 |
| Burnt waste | 5 | 3 | 5 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Cores | 1 | 5 | 1 | — | 8 | — | — | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| Core trimmings | 1 | — | — | 5 | 3 | — | 1 | — | — | 2 | — | — |
| Blades | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | — | — |
| Serrated blades | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Bulbar rejects | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | — | — | — |
| Microliths | — | 1 | — | 1 | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Awls | — | 3 | — | — | — | 1 | — | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| Scrapers | 2 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | — | — | — |
| Knife forms | 3 | 2 | — | 1 | — | 2 | 1 | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Utilised pieces | — | 2 | 1 | — | 1 | — | 1 | 2 | 2 | — | — | — |
| Misc. retouch | 2 | 1 | 4 | — | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Arrowheads | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Leaf | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Barbed & tanged | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| PTD oblique | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Fragments | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Polished frags | — | 2 | 2 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | 183 | 89 | 80 | 52 | 58 | 24 | 32 | 29 | 32 | 19 | 4 | 4 |
| B) Chert | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Waste flakes | 17 | 10 | 14 | 1 | 13 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Cores | 1 | 3 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Core trimmings | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Blades | 3 | 3 | — | — | 2 | 1 | 1 | — | 2 | 1 | — | — |
| Bulbar rejects | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Scrapers | — | 2 | — | — | — | 2 | — | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Knife forms | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 2 | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Arrowheads (B&T) | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Misc. retouch | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | 22 | 20 | 15 | 1 | 18 | 11 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 5 |

A. LEA GREEN

Lea Green 1: Map Ref. 3997 4658 Height O.D. 290 m

At the highest point of Lea Green, with good all round visibility, is the remains of a cairn which has produced evidence of iron-age inhumation burials (Raistrick 1938). To the east of this cairn, the ground slopes gently for some 50 to 75 m before there is a pronounced break of slope and the ground falls away more steeply. A substantial scatter of flint, chert and volcanic tuff artefacts lay in this area, including barbed and tanged arrowheads (Fig. 2 (1 and 2)), a broken oblique PTD arrowhead (Fig. 2 (3)), knives, scrapers (Fig. 2 (11 and 12)) and serrated flakes (Fig. 2 (13)). Raw materials used are mainly flint, mostly patinated but where colour can be discerned, pale grey flint with

TABLE 2: Analysis of artefacts

| | BASTOW WOOD | | | | SWEET SIDE | | | | | | | CONISTONE OLD PASTURE | | | | |
|-----------------|-------------|---|---|---|------------|----|----|---|---|---|---|-----------------------|----|---|----|----|
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| <i>A) Flint</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Waste flakes | 2 | — | 5 | 1 | 13 | 7 | 14 | 3 | 4 | — | 3 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 10 |
| Burnt waste | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Cores | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Core trimmings | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Blades | 1 | — | 1 | — | 2 | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Serrated blades | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 10 |
| Bulbar rejects | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Microliths | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Awls | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Scrapers | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | 1 | 2 | — | 3 | — | — | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| Knife forms | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | 1 | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — |
| Utilised pieces | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Misc. retouch | — | — | — | — | 1 | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Arrowheads | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Leaf | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| PTD oblique | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | 4 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 16 | 12 | 24 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 5 | 11 | 7 | 8 | 16 | 24 |
| <i>B) Chert</i> | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Waste flakes | 3 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 8 | — | 1 | 4 | 2 | 82 | 29 | 7 | 1 | 14 |
| Cores | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 5 | 1 | — | — | 1 |
| Core trimmings | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Blades | 1 | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | 2 | 1 | 1 | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Serrated blades | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Bulbar rejects | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Scrapers | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | 9 | 1 | — | 1 | 3 |
| Knife forms | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 6 | 2 | 1 | — | — |
| Misc. retouch | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | 2 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Utilised pieces | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| | 4 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 9 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 104 | 38 | 8 | 2 | 18 |

white and black speckled inclusions. There are some black and grey opaque cherts and a struck flake of clear quartz. Three fragments of polished stone implements were found and pottery finds included a rim fragment of Peterborough Ware (Fig. 4 (1)). Many of the finds were made immediately above the break of slope to the east of the cairn, suggesting the possibility that they might have washed downslope as a result of later ploughing and associated erosion.

Lea Green 2: Map Ref. 3997 4658 Height O.D. 290 m

A popular walkers' path from Grassington to Conistone passes immediately to the west of the cairn mentioned above, across a saddle of ground bounded to the west by a shallow ridge of limestone. At the southern end of this saddle, probably overlapping with the scatter forming Lea Green 1, was a further concentration of artefacts including a broken

oblique PTD arrowhead (Fig. 3 (2)), scrapers, an awl, a microlith (Fig. 3 (3)), and a small fragment from the cutting edge of a polished flint implement, probably an axe. At the western edge of the scatter was a fragment of a polished planoconvex knife (Fig. 3 (5)) in grey/brown flint of Manby's (1974) Type 3. Together with this knife was a rim fragment of Peterborough Ware (Appendix 1, Group A — Fig. 4 (2)). At the eastern edge of the scatter were two further rim fragments of Peterborough Ware, (Appendix 1, Group B — Fig. 4 (3 and 4)). A number of fragments of polished stone implements were also found. Raw materials used are similar to those for Lea Green 1 including a struck flake of clear quartz, and there was also a scraper of greenish chalcedony.

Lea Green 3: Map Ref. 3997 4658 Height O.D. 285 m

To the north of Lea Green 2, the ground is level for some 75 m before falling away steeply. Immediately before the slope was a well defined scatter of artefacts including scrapers, a serrated blade and a broken polished planoconvex knife (Fig. 3 (6)) in grey flint, again of Manby's (1974) Type 3. This fragment appears to have been reworked, presumably after breakage, by being serrated. Some 10 m to the east, a leaf arrowhead in speckled grey flint was found (Fig. 3 (7)). Finds of volcanic tuff are described in Appendix 2 (and see Fig. 3 (1)), and a weathered sherd of probably Beaker pottery is described in Appendix 1.

Down the slope to the north west was a diffuse scatter of artefacts including a flake of mottled brown flint with a small area of polished surface, reworked as a knife, a grey flint blade and a patinated flint scraper.

Lea Green 4: Map Ref. 3997 4658 Height O.D. 285 m

Some 50 m east of Lea Green 3 was a small scatter of artefacts less than 20 m across. It consisted mainly of small knapping debris but included a finely worked end scraper (Fig. 2, 9), a crude rod microlith (Fig. 2 (14)) and a possible lunate microlith (Fig. 2 (17)). In the area between Lea Green 4 and Lea Green 1 was a bifacially worked fragment of patinated flint, probably from a leaf arrowhead (Fig. 2 (15)).

Lea Green 5: Map Ref. 3998 4658 Height O.D. 270 m

To the east of Lea Green 4 the terrain falls steeply onto a narrow shelf bounded on the east by a series of sink holes and steeper ground descending towards the Dales Way footpath. At the northern end of this shelf was a concentration of artefacts including a leaf arrowhead in patinated flint (Fig. 2 (5)), two rod microliths in flint (Fig. 2 (6); Fig. 3 (4)) and two serrated blades. There are also a significant number of blade cores in grey flint (Fig. 2 (4)) and one in black chert, of which considerable use was made on this site. Some 30 m south, was an end scraper in dark grey flint (Fig. 2 (16)) and a fragment of a blade core in pale grey flint. Ten metres below to the east was a fine barbed and tanged arrowhead in shiny opaque black chert (Fig. 3 (8)).

Lea Green 6: Map Ref. 3996 4658 Height O.D. 280 m

At the western edge of Lea Green, by the main boundary wall, is an area of ground sloping gently to the south on which was a diffuse scatter of artefacts including scrapers, an awl, a knife, and a flake from the edge of an unfaceted polished implement in grey flint, reworked as a knife (Fig. 2 (10)). A small fragment of possible beaker-pottery is described in Appendix 1, and a small flake of volcanic tuff at Appendix 2. Some 75 m to the south were two small round scrapers of black chert.



Fig. 2. Worked flints from Lea Green.

Lea Green 7: Map Ref. 3997 4656 Height O.D. 270 m

To the south of the cairn by Lea Green 1, the ground slopes away relatively gently. Over this area was a diffuse scatter of artefacts with no obvious centre of concentration, covering an area about 100 m square, including knives (Fig. 2 (8 and 23)) and scrapers (Fig. 2 (7)) in similar raw materials to Lea Green 1, except for one scraper in caramel flint made on a small pebble.

Lea Green 8: Map Ref. 3998 4654 Height O.D. 265 m

On slightly lower ground, 200 m south of Lea Green 1 was a small scatter of artefacts close to three small round cairns. Also found were three small sherds of beaker-pottery (Appendix 1) and two small chips of volcanic tuff (Appendix 2). Whilst some of the flint artefacts — particularly a thumbnail scraper (Fig. 3 (9)) and a small core (Fig. 3 (11)) — are consistent with a beaker-context, others are not, including a small patinated blade worked as an end scraper on the distal end, and with oblique blunting and probable burin facets on the bulbar end (Fig. 3 (10)).

Lea Green 9: Map Ref. 3999 4655 Height O.D. 275 m

On a level area on the eastern side of Lea Green, crossed by the Dales Way footpath, was a scatter of artefacts including a small leaf arrowhead in patinated flint (Fig. 2 (22)), a broken barbed and tanged arrowhead in black chert (Fig. 2 (21)), a serrated blade and two thumbnail scrapers. One waste flake of grey flint was from a small pebble. Some 50 m to the south west was a fragment of volcanic tuff.

Lea Green 10: Map Ref. 3999 4654 Height O.D. 260 m

A grass rake leads south from Lea Green 9 alongside the eastern boundary wall of Lea Green. This contained a small scatter of artefacts including a small knife of patinated flint.

Lea Green 11: Map Ref. 4000 4653 Height O.D. 255 m

Towards the southern end of Lea Green, on a small shelf of ground close to the Dales Way footpath, was a scatter of artefacts including a crude point or leaf arrowhead in patinated flint (Fig. 3 (12)) a finely blunted knife on a blade of patinated flint (Fig. 3 (13)), and a fragment of volcanic tuff.

Lea Green 12: Map Ref. 3999 4652 Height O.D. 240 m

At the southern extremity of Lea Green, some 50 m east of the stile over which the main Dales Way footpath passes, was a scatter of artefacts extending downslope into a small enclosed field. Finds include a broken leaf arrowhead in patinated flint (Fig. 3 (15)), a blade knife in grey flint (Fig. 3 (14)) and a blade core in coarse grey chert.

Miscellaneous finds on Lea Green include:

- (a) a small diffuse scatter of flint and chert waste flakes around Map Ref. 3998 4653 including a scraper reworked on a flake of heavily patinated brown flint.
- (b) a scatter of artefacts across the north facing slope leading down from Lea Green 5 (in the direction of the well known Romano-British settlement site) centred on Map Ref. 3997 4662, including two scrapers, a core and a utilized flake of dark grey chert, five waste flakes of flint including a flake of caramel coloured pebble flint, and a flake of volcanic tuff.
- (c) a fragment of volcanic tuff at Map Ref. 3996 4657, to the west of Lea Green 2.
- (d) two chips of flint at Map Ref. 3994 4662 and one flake of grey flint at Map Ref. 3994 4659.

B. BASTOW WOOD

Undulating terrain above 250 m O.D. extends westward from Lea Green for about 500 m before the ground slopes more steeply downwards towards the River Wharfe. Much of this area is covered by deciduous woodland known as Bastow Wood. A significant area appears to have been disturbed by surface removal of limestone and small quarries. The whole area is infested by moles and rabbits, and the presence of modern pottery and boiler ash in the molehills and rabbit scrapes indicates that there has been relatively recent ploughing. A number of small scatters of artefacts has been found, but the amount of material found is significantly lower than on Lea Green although the topography of both areas appears very similar. It is possible that modern disturbance of the topsoil has reduced the concentration of artefacts at the level of the mole runs. In all cases, raw materials on these sites are similar to those used on Lea Green.

Bastow Wood 1: Map Ref. 3989 4658 Height O.D. 300 m

At the foot of a low wooded bank close to the western edge of the more level ground was a small scatter of artefacts including a leaf arrowhead in translucent grey flint (Fig. 2 (18)), a scraper (Fig. 2 (19)) and a large grey chert blade.

Bastow Wood 2: Map Ref. 3990 4659 Height O.D. 305 m

Some 150 m northeast of Bastow Wood 1, in an area which appeared quite disturbed by recent quarrying, was a tightly defined small scatter of artefacts comprising a patinated flint thumbnail scraper (Fig. 3 (29)) and six struck pieces of dark grey chert. Found with these was a small sherd of possible Grooved Ware (Appendix 1 — Fig. 4 (5)). Some 75 m to the southeast of this was a broken PTD oblique arrowhead (Fig. 3 (31)).

Bastow Wood 3: Map Ref. 3991 4661 Height O.D. 305 m

At the most northerly part of the wood, at the edge of the scarp leading down to the river, was a group of artefacts including a broken patinated flint scraper, and a large flake from the edge of a faceted polished stone implement. A diffuse scatter continued southwards along the edge of the scarp and included a patinated flint blade with its bulb of percussion removed, a patinated flint awl and a serrated blade in lustrous grey chert (Fig. 3 (30)).

Bastow Wood 4: Map Ref. 3991 4661 Height O.D. 290 m

About 75 m south of Bastow Wood 3 on the south-facing hillside was a knife worked on a core trimming flake of opaque pale grey flint, a knife of dark grey flint, a utilised flint flake and a waste flake of grey chert.

Miscellaneous finds from Bastow Wood include:

- (a) a utilised flake, a core and a waste flake of grey chert plus a flint blade at Map Ref. 3993 4662.
- (b) an end scraper in patinated flint at Map Ref. 3992 4656.
- (c) a patinated bulbar reject (a term used to denote the bulb of percussion of a blade removed by direct snapping, not by microburin technique) and a grey flint waste flake at Map. Ref. 3990 4658.
- (d) a patinated flint core trimming flake and a waste flake of brown flint at Map Ref. 3993 4658.

C. SWEET SIDE

East of Lea Green, the ground continues to rise gradually in a series of 'steps' towards the gritstone moorlands to the east. A number of small scatters of artefacts were found

in this area, at varying heights, but without any concentration of sites to rival that on Lea Green. This area is enclosed pasture, and it was not possible to survey the whole area of Sweet Side as comprehensively as other areas.

Sweet Side 1: Map Ref. 3998 4661 Height O.D. 270 m

In the area immediately east of Lea Green are two areas of limestone pavement. In a grassy area between them was a scatter of finds including a serrated flake of grey flint with large creamy brown inclusions (Fig. 3 (16)), and a flake from the cutting edge of a polished stone implement.

Sweet Side 2: Map Ref. 3999 4659 Height O.D. 275 m

To the south of Sweet Side 1 the ground rises gently, culminating in a small knoll on which was a number of artefacts including a patinated flint serrated blade, a broken patinated pebble flint side scraper and a small obliquely blunted flake in patinated flint (Fig. 3 (17)).

Sweet Side 3: Map Ref. 3999 4659 Height O.D. 275 m

One hundred metres east of Sweet Side 2 was a further scatter including a serrated blade in patinated grey flint, an end scraper in patinated flint, one in dark grey flint, and another in grey chert, a small knife in brown flint together with a broken rod microlith in pale grey flint (Fig. 3 (22)).

Sweet Side 4: Map Ref. 4000 4658 Height O.D. 280 m

At the south eastern corner of the field containing Sweet Side 1–3 is an area of slightly higher ground on which was a scatter of artefacts including a knife reworked on a flake of patinated brown flint (Fig. 3 (18)), a core trimming flake in grey chert and two flakes of volcanic tuff, one detached from the reground cutting edge of a faceted implement.

Sweet Side 5: Map Ref. 4000 4656 Height O.D. 270–280 m

South of Sweet Side 4 towards Kimpergill Hill was a diffuse scatter of artefacts including three flint scrapers (Fig. 3 (19)), one of which was reworked on a flake of patinated brown flint.

Sweet Side 6: Map Ref. 4000 4655 Height O.D. 280 m

In the vicinity of Kimpergill Hill is a stone ring bank. Around this was a small scatter of artefacts including a rod microlith in patinated flint (Fig. 3 (21)) and a flint microblade.

Sweet Side 7: Map Ref. 4003 4655 Height O.D. 300 m

Close to the footpath from Grassington to Bare House was a small scatter of artefacts including a patinated flint blade knife (Fig. 3 (20)), and an awl in grey chert.

Miscellaneous finds on Sweet Side include:

- (a) at Map Ref. 4004 4660, six waste flakes of flint and a bulbar reject in patinated flint. The molehills in this area were full of fragments of shattered grey chert. None appeared convincingly to be struck by human agency, but this area may be one of the sources of the grey chert recorded elsewhere in this survey.
- (b) a steeply worked end scraper in patinated flint at map Ref. 4004 4655,
- (c) a small knife in grey flint, a scalar core in brown flint and two waste flint flakes at Map Ref. 3997 4663.
- (d) two fragments of burnt flint and two waste flakes of patinated flint, at Map Ref. 4000 4659.

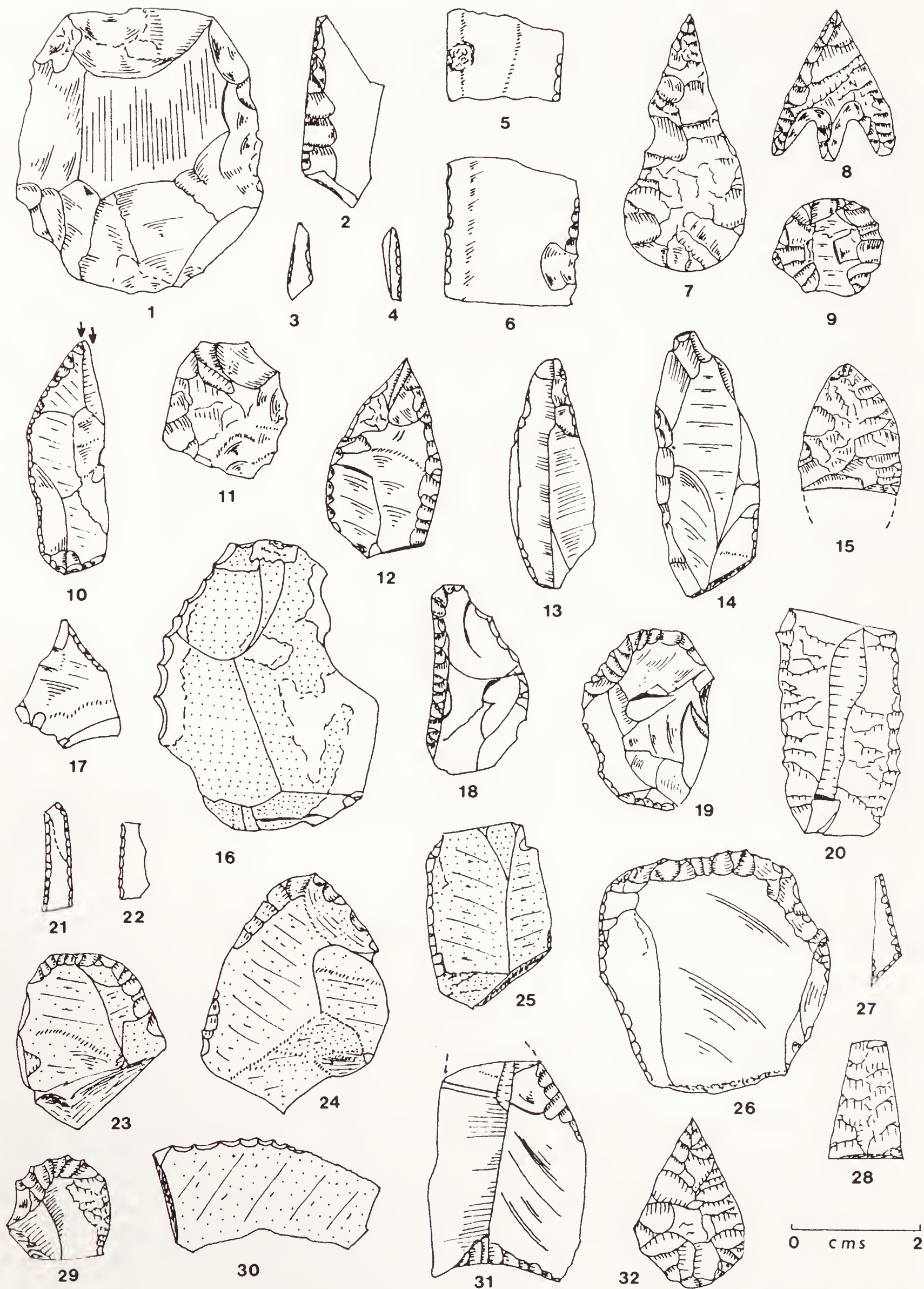


Fig. 3. Worked flints from Sweet Side and other sites.

- (e) a waste flake of patinated flint at Map Ref. 3997 4663.
- (f) a waste flake of black chert, one of grey chert and one of patinated flint at Map Ref. 4005 4659.
- (g) a waste flake of black chert and an end scraper in patinated pebble flint at Map Ref. 4000 4658.
- (h) five waste flakes of flint and two of chert at Map Ref. 4004 4662.
- (i) a large utilised flake of white chert at Map Ref. 4003 4653.
- (j) a blade fragment in white chert at Map Ref. 4005 4664.

D. CONISTONE OLD PASTURE

North of Lea Green, the ground slopes downwards into a wide shallow depression bounded on the west by a hummocky ridge with areas of exposed limestone pavement, disturbed by quarrying. Unlike Lea Green, Conistone Old Pasture consists of enclosed grassland, containing evidence of lynchets and pre-enclosure cultivation.

Conistone Old Pasture 1: Map Ref. 3995 4670 Height O.D. 290 m

About 75 m west of the Dales Way footpath as it crosses Conistone Old Pasture is a level area some 15 m across which appears to be the remains of an artificial platform constructed into the hillside. Across this level area and immediately downslope was a substantial and concentrated scatter of artefacts consisting mainly of coarse grey cherts and silicified limestone, with only a small amount of flint. The assemblage contains neither blades nor blade cores, and the only artefacts are scrapers (Fig. 3 (23 & 24)) and knives (Fig. 3 (25)). The technical quality of stoneworking appears cruder than on the late neolithic/early bronze-age sites on Lea Green.

At the northern end of the level area was a rim sherd of heavily grit tempered pottery identified as Bronze Age (Appendix 1— Fig. 4 (6)). Without excavation it cannot be established either that the level area is indeed an artificial platform, or that the artefacts found on it are genuinely associated with it. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to treat this assemblage as being of Bronze Age, probably postdating the sites associated with Beaker pottery on Lea Green.

Conistone Old Pasture 2: Map Ref. 3995 4671 Height O.D. 290 m

Some 50 m north of Conistone Old Pasture 1 is another, smaller level area which also resembles an artificial platform. On and around this was a small scatter of artefacts, mostly of chert, which resemble those from Conistone Old Pasture 1.

Conistone Old Pasture 3: Map Ref. 3995 4668 Height O.D. 300 m

100 m south of Conistone Old Pasture 1, on sloping ground, was a tightly defined scatter of flint and chert artefacts including a knife and scraper. These artefacts appear crudely struck and also resemble those from Conistone Old Pasture 1.

Conistone Old Pasture 4: Map Ref. 3994 4670 Height O.D. 340 m

On the higher ground to the west of Conistone Old Pasture 1 was a scatter of artefacts including a number of small scrapers. The assemblage is of bronze-age appearance but the quality of flintworking is higher than on the Conistone Old Pasture sites mentioned above.

Conistone Old Pasture 5: Map Ref. 3996 4671 Height O.D. 290 m

To the east of the Dales Way footpath is a grassy rake between two outcrops of limestone. Along this was a small scatter of artefacts including scrapers. The assemblage resembles

that from Conistone Old Pasture 4 in general character. On more level ground to the east was a diffuse scatter comprising ten waste flakes of flint and three scrapers and nine waste flakes of chert.

Miscellaneous finds include:

- (a) at Map Ref. 3995 4670 a triangular microlith in patinated flint (Fig 3 (27)).
- (b) at Map Ref. 3993 4674, close to a small but steep sided depression, a finely worked small leaf arrowhead (Fig. 3 (32)) and a fragment of another leaf arrowhead (Fig. 3 (28)). Five waste flakes of flint and two of chert were found in a wide scatter in this area.
- (c) at Map Ref. 3995 4674, two large and finely worked scrapers, one in creamy pink flint (Fig. 3 (26)) and the other in patinated flint. The former has been made on a flake with a carefully prepared striking platform.
- (d) at Map Ref. 3994 4667, three waste flakes of patinated flint.
- (e) at Map Ref. 3993 4668, a crudely struck flake of pale grey flint and two chips of patinated flint.
- (f) at Map Ref. 3990 4668, two waste flakes of patinated flint.
- (g) at Map Ref. 3994 4669, a scraper and four waste flakes of flint, together with two cores, a core trimming flake and two waste flakes of chert.
- (h) at Map Ref. 3996 4674, four waste flakes of flint (one fire damaged), a core, a core trimming flake, and two waste flakes of chert, widely scattered.

DISCUSSION

The distribution of sites is concentrated around the central area (and highest point) of Lea Green. Not only do the sites in that area have the largest number of artefacts, but the range of artefact types is also greater than on other sites, and includes evidence for use of polished flint implements. The focus of activity in that area would coincide with the point of best all round visibility, assuming a relatively cleared landscape. Sites are less common in all other areas surveyed, tend to have fewer artefacts overall and to be dominated by scrapers.

A survey map of the area prepared by the Ordnance Survey in collaboration with Dr Raistrick in 1964 includes the find spots of a number of barbed and tanged arrowheads (A. King *pers. comm.*). These do not coincide with any site recorded in this paper, except Lea Green 8. A further area marked 'Many flints found' coincides with Sweet Side 5.

In eastern Cumbria, a very similar distribution of sites on the limestone around the 275–300 m contours is complemented by a distribution, on slightly lower ground, of significant numbers of sites with late mesolithic affinities. The lack of ploughing in the Grassington area makes it impossible to assess whether there is a similar distribution of sites there. The presence of substantial sites of predominantly late mesolithic affinities at Malham (on somewhat higher ground) has been reported in detail (Williams *et al.* 1987).

It is perhaps worth noting that, unlike the Malham sites, none of the sites recorded in this survey is near a permanent water supply. It is also notable that both the henge monument at Yarnbury and the Beaker burial on High Close are peripheral to the areas containing occupation debris.

Flint is the preferred raw material used on the sites in this survey. Much of the waste material found is less than 1 cm in size and appears therefore to result from flint working in situ. Although the majority of flint is patinated white, where the colour of flint can be ascertained, it is usually translucent pale grey with speckled black or white inclusions. This flint probably derives from boulder clays of eastern Yorkshire, and often bears

patches of chalky cortex. Pebble flint is unusual. Yorkshire Wolds flint does not appear to be used in any significant degree. Brown chalk flint, which is the preferred raw material on neolithic sites in the Rudston area (Manby 1974, 1975) is present but in relatively small quantities. It is possible that this type of flint patinates more easily than the pale grey flint, and thus appears underrepresented.

The use of chert is more limited than flint. The colour of cherts used includes grey, black and white, and the texture of cherts ranges from very fine and lustrous to coarse. The cherts closely resemble the published descriptions of cherts used on the Malham sites (Williams *et al.* 1987). Most of these cherts are presumed to derive from local sources, and they are used to make a range of artefacts similar to that in flint. In general, the flaking qualities of the cherts are much poorer than flint and the ratio of artefacts to waste is smaller than for flint.

The presence of volcanic tuff fragments appears to derive exclusively from the use and reworking of polished implements. The reworking of some fragments as cores demonstrates the use of broken stone implements as a substitute for flint in toolmaking. There is no evidence for the use of volcanic tuff pebbles derived from local glacial deposits.

Other raw materials noted are green chalcedony used for a scraper on Lea Green 2, and struck flakes of clear crystal quartz on Lea Green 1 and 2. The presence of the latter cannot easily be explained by natural processes. Similar flakes of quartz have been found on a number of Cumbrian sites of both late mesolithic and neolithic affinities. If these quartz flakes are artefacts, however, it does not follow that quartz was used as a substitute for flint in toolmaking. Other uses are possible, such as pottery fillers or abrasives.

These raw material types resemble closely those used in eastern Cumbria. In the present survey — which appears to consist primarily of neolithic or bronze-age material — 69 per cent of artefacts are of flint (sample 1,100). On comparable late neolithic and early bronze-age sites in eastern Cumbria, 65 per cent of artefacts are flint (sample 4,446). By contrast, sites of late mesolithic affinities in eastern Cumbria show far greater reliance on local cherts. Only 34 per cent of artefacts from those sites are flint (sample 6,586). On those sites, pebble flint is also used, probably of Yorkshire origin, and in addition volcanic tuff pebbles.

The predominantly late mesolithic sites recorded around Malham Tarn show significantly greater reliance upon flint, namely 75 per cent of artefacts (sample 11,240). All the microliths found in the present survey (which are of later mesolithic type) appear to be made of flint. This suggests that although mesolithic communities around Grassington had better access to supplies of good quality flint than their Cumbrian counterparts, by the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, communities in both areas were equally well placed to secure supplies of good quality flint from eastern Yorkshire.

The assemblages at Conistone Old Pasture 1, 2 and 3 are clearly distinguishable on the basis of raw material use from other sites in this survey. They are tentatively identified as being of bronze-age date, are heavily reliant on coarse local cherts and contain little flint. The stoneworking technologies employed are relatively crude, and it seems reasonable to conclude that these sites postdate the sites on Lea Green which are associated with beaker pottery. It can be inferred from this that the processes by which communities in the Grassington area obtained their supplies of flint for toolmaking may have ceased to operate effectively by the time these sites on Conistone Old Pasture were occupied.

There are two main difficulties in reviewing the artefacts collected from a typological viewpoint. Firstly, an unknown number of artefacts have been removed by earlier collectors, and only a small fraction of these may have been recorded. In addition to Raistrick (1938), the late J. Davies recorded the finding of volcanic tuff flakes from polished

implements from Grassington (Davies 1957). Detailed statistical comparison of artefact types between Grassington sites and Cumbrian sites cannot therefore safely be made.

Secondly, there is no way in which the proximity of artefacts in surface scatters can demonstrate genuine association. This survey records a palimpsest of activity over millennia, and artefacts once deposited may have been disturbed by later ploughing, quarrying or mining activity. It is noted from Appendix 1 that medieval pottery is widespread across Lea Green.

A number of instances are noted where on conventional typologies, artefacts found together cannot easily be associated, for example the end scraper/burin on Lea Green 8 with the beaker material from that site. Apparent associations between mesolithic and neolithic artefacts in the form of microliths and leaf arrowheads noted on Lea Green 4 and 5 are perhaps more ambiguous. Outside the known core areas of early neolithic occupation such as the Yorkshire Wolds, these types of artefacts are frequently found together in lithic scatters in northern England, raising at least a possibility that some of these apparent associations are genuine and not the result of successive occupations.

A scatter of microliths of late mesolithic type has been noted across the survey area. No microburins have been found. Most of the finds are from the central area of Lea Green, but that might be no more than a reflection of the intensity of collection during this survey. None of the sites recorded can credibly be regarded as being a late mesolithic site.

Of the sixteen classifiable arrowheads in the present survey, nine are leaf shaped, three are PTD oblique and four are barbed and tanged. No chisel arrowheads have yet been found. The sample of twenty-four arrowheads illustrated by Raistrick (1938) comprise nine leaf shaped, one PTD oblique and fourteen barbed and tanged. By comparison, the eastern Cumbrian sites have produced relatively fewer barbed and tanged arrowheads (13 from a sample of 59). Also, whereas a minority (5 out of 13) of the Cumbrian barbed and tanged arrowheads were associated with other occupation debris, none of the barbed and tanged arrowheads in the present survey were stray finds. The evidence from the Cumbrian limestone uplands has been interpreted to suggest that the intensity of prehistoric activity declined in the Early Bronze Age, with greater emphasis on hunting. Given the artefactual evidence from the present survey, and the presence of presumed bronze-age sites on Conistone Old Pasture, this present survey would not support a similar conclusion.

It is notable that away from the central part of Lea Green, assemblages tend to be small and dominated by small scrapers. This is consistent with periodic transient activity in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, possibly by the same communities that were occupying the central part of Lea Green at the time.

There is also in relative terms more evidence for the use of polished flint artefacts in the present survey (five fragments from a sample of 1,100) than on Cumbrian sites. Only five polished or partially polished flint axes (including one of 'Seamer' type) are recorded for the whole of Cumbria (Richardson 1981, 1991). A survey of the west Cumbrian coastal plain (producing over 80,000 artefacts) has shown no evidence for any polished flint artefacts at all. The survey of the Cumbrian limestone uplands has produced only an edge polished blade knife (Cherry & Cherry 1995), a broken chisel, and flakes from a maximum of five further implements from a total sample of 11,032 artefacts. It does not appear that the importation into Cumbria of flint deriving from eastern Yorkshire was accompanied by much material that modern writers would regard as 'exotic' or 'prestige'. A similar picture can be demonstrated for jet artefacts found in Cumbria (Fell 1967 Appendix B).

The existence of further connections between Cumbria and the Grassington area in

neolithic and early bronze-age times is demonstrated by the evidence of the use and reworking of polished stone implements of Lake District origin. Whilst the majority appear to derive from sources in the central Lake District, and are probably products of axe factory sites in the Great Langdale area, Davis has in Appendix 2 noted the presence of rock types from more eastern Lake District sources. No factory sites are yet known from these areas.

The finding of pottery on a number of sites shows that the artefact scatters from those sites are unlikely to result merely from transient occupation. This is supported by the use of local chert to supplement imported flint supplies. Although the information that can be derived is limited, the presence of probably Peterborough Ware, Grooved Ware and Beaker pottery is established. Petrological investigations of similar pottery from eastern Cumbrian sites has shown that it was probably made locally (Cherry & Cherry 1992) and the same can be expected from the pottery found in the present survey.

It is possible to demonstrate a close degree of similarity between activity in the late neolithic and early bronze-age period in the Grassington area on the one hand, and on the limestone uplands of eastern Cumbria on the other hand. The distribution of sites and their heights above sea level are comparable. Communities in both areas appear to have obtained supplies of flint for toolmaking from eastern Yorkshire. Communities in both areas relied upon sources in the central and eastern Lake District for a supply of polished stone tools. A comparison of the two surveys is therefore able to shed some further light on contemporary networks of exchange and distribution for the supply of basic raw materials for subsistence, upon which communities in both areas relied.

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APPENDIX 1: PREHISTORIC AND LATER POTTERY FROM A SURVEY OF LEA GREEN, GRASSINGTON AND SURROUNDING AREAS

By T. G. Manby

Lea Green 1

1. Rim sherd (Fig. 4 (1)). Deep overhanging rim tapering internally and externally to a pointed lip. Hard laminated fabric with erupting harsh quartzitic fragments greater than 6 mm. Grey with brown toned surfaces. Rows of D-shaped imprints (end of a small bone) across the external surface below the lip and across the interior. Peterborough Ware.
2. Small weathered fragment of similar fabric to above, surfaces scaled.
3. Crumb.

Lea Green 2

Group A (western edge of artefact scatter)

Rim sherd (Fig. 4 (2)), square profile with internal bevel and deep lip overhanging the hollow neck. A compact fabric with harsh temper of quartzitic grains erupting through the surface. Dark grey, reddish exterior darkening towards the lip, brown toned interior. Decorated on the deep exterior lip with impressions forming three horizontal rows of 'false cord' line made by a blunt tool, across the bevel diagonal rows of broken bird bone imprints and scattered impressions of a blunt point across the interior. Peterborough Ware.

Group B (eastern edge of artefact scatter).

1. Rim sherd (Fig. 4 (3)) broken off along an oblique ring junction. Expanded overhanging rim, slight hollow below inside and out. Compact fabric with scattered large rock fragments greater than 10 mm erupting through the surfaces. Grey, exterior buff extending over the lip into the interior. Plain.
2. Rim sherd (Fig. 4 (4)) expanded overhanging profile, interior of lip turned downward and squared. Hard coarsely laminated fabric with scattered rock fragments greater than 7 mm erupting through the surfaces. Dark grey, brown toned exterior. Surface of rim eroded leaving no certain evidence of decoration.

Both the above Peterborough Ware.

Medieval sherds: Six small sherds of unglazed coarse ware. All in harsh hard fabric, profuse medium sand temper including rolled quartz grains, and reddish and white quartzite. Five with reddish surfaces, dark grey core; and a base sherd with light grey interior and light brown exterior and grey core. From the Pennine Gritty Ware class twelfth to fourteenth centuries AD.

Lea Green 3

Two sherds and a flake of fine compact fabric, orange-buff exterior, buff interior, grey core. Wall thickness 7 mm. Plain. Beaker.

Small flake, laminated dark brown, stone fragments greater than 6 mm. Similar to Peterborough Ware from previous site.

Lea Green 6

Small sherd, hard compact fabric with scattered quartzite fragments greater than 4 mm. Orange-buff exterior, dark grey interior. Wall thickness 8 mm. Possibly Beaker.

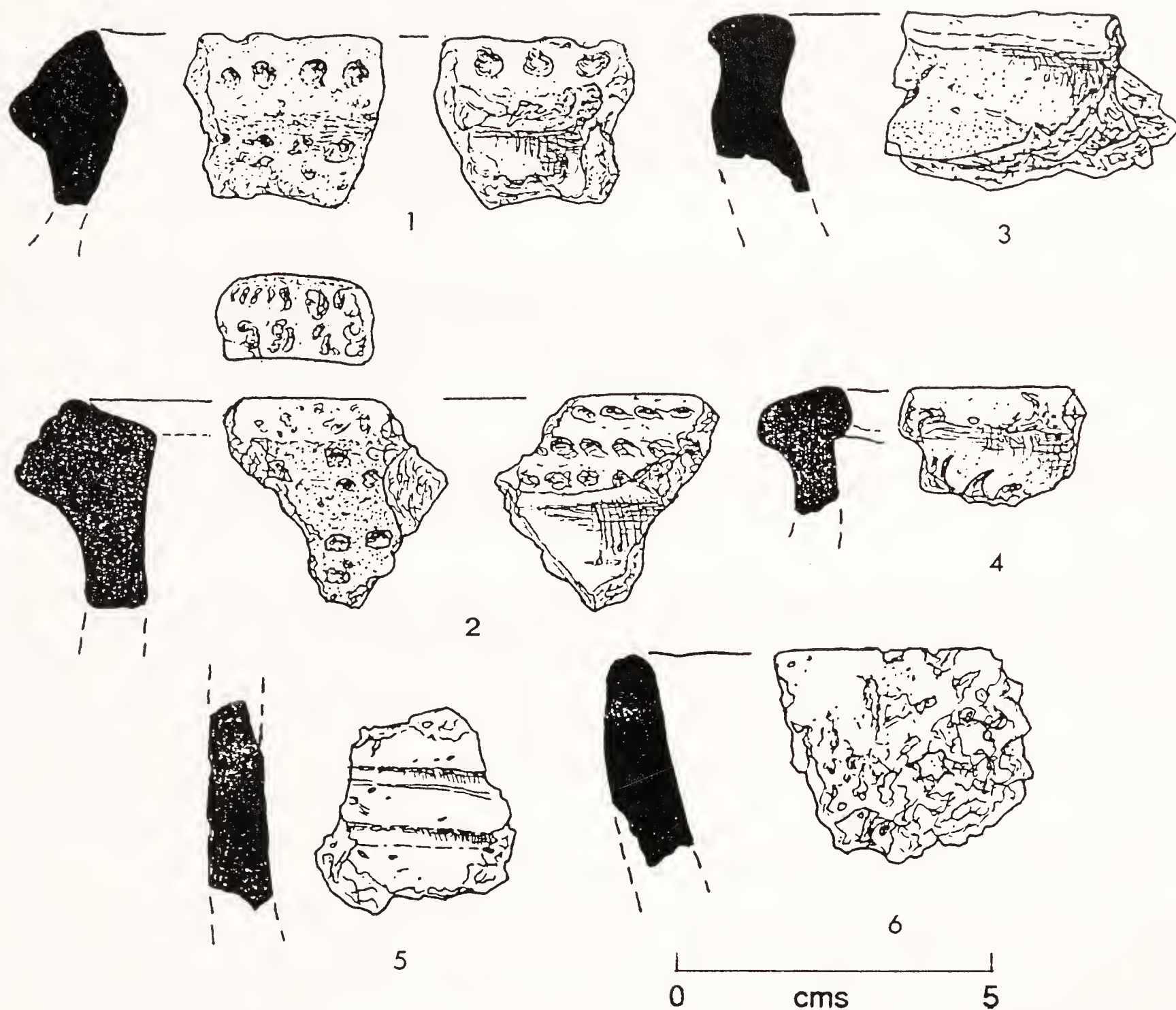


Fig. 4. Pottery from Grassington sites.

Lea Green 8

Two small sherds, a flake and a crumb. Compact orange fabrics with grey cores. Beaker.

1. Largest sherd appears to be from a flat base, 10 mm thick. Fine sand tempered, light grey core.
2. Sherd, weathered exterior — orange surface over dark grey core, query interior scaled off. Faint traces of a line of ?comb impressions.
3. Flake, weathered — exterior orange-buff. A horizontal and slightly diagonal line of fine toothed comb impressions.

Lea Green 10

Medieval sherd. Hard, fine gritty fabric, light grey with buff interior, weathered traces of greenish glaze on the exterior. Thirteenth to fourteenth century AD, probably from a jug.

A further medieval sherd is noted from Map Ref. 4000 4651, with a hard medium gritty fabric, orange, with dark brown exterior — thirteenth to fourteenth century AD.

Bastow Wood 2

Sherd (Fig. 4 (5)): deeply pitted by the dissolution of a profuse tempering agent, some grog remains. Lightweight, buff-orange exterior, buff interior, grey core. Two shallow diagonal strokes on the exterior. Wall thickness 8–9 mm. Possibly Grooved Ware.

Small medieval sherd, rounded by weathering. Coarse sand temper.

Conistone Old Pasture 1

Rim sherd (Fig. 4 (6)) of open bowl with simple rounded lip. Soft flaky reddish brown fabric with many voids greater than 6 mm caused by the solution of temper. Smoothed interior, exterior extensively eroded. Wall thickness 10 mm. Bronze Age.

Comments

The medieval pottery of Upper Wharfedale and Craven has received little attention and the present finds are too small for further comment other than to state they fall within the Gritty Ware class common across Yorkshire during the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

The majority of the pottery in terms of fabric and the limited indications of profile and decoration are attributable to the Peterborough and Grooved Ware styles of the Late Neolithic and Beaker Wares of the Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age. They are a welcome addition to the distributions of such ceramic types in Craven and western Yorkshire. Peterborough Ware has previously been represented by small numbers of sherds from cave deposits, in Wharfedale at Elbolton (Gilks 1973a, 45, Fig. 3) and from Ribblesdale at Sewell's (Raistrick 1936, 203, Fig. 5) and Lesser Kelco Caves, Giggleswick and Attermire Cave, Langcliffe (unpublished: T. Lord collection, Settle). The Sewell's Cave had a rim of comparable profile to Lea Green 2, Group B no. 1.

Beaker sherds are also known from a number of Craven cave sites and from two open sites in Malham Parish (unpublished: T. Lord collection, Settle). In Wharfedale, pieces of a Beaker have been found at Thorpe, near Grassington, (A. Raistrick collection). All these were from a comb decorated vessel like the Lea Green 8 sherds, and are later in the Beaker developmental sequence than the famous All-over-Cord Beaker (Gilks 1973b, 175, Fig. 4.1) assigned to Lea Green and found during the excavations of a cairn by B. J. Harker in 1890 (Harker 1892).

The possible Grooved Ware fragment from Bastow Wood 2 would be the first identification of this Late Neolithic ceramic tradition in the Craven area. If confirmed by further diagnostic material this would be a notable extension to the Grooved Ware distribution in Yorkshire and northern England (Manby 1974) and comparable with the identification of this style in the carboniferous limestone of Westmorland (Cherry 1987, 73–76).

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APPENDIX 2: PETROLOGICAL NOTES ON A COLLECTION OF STONE ARTEFACTS FROM GRASSINGTON, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By R. V. Davis

The following notes have been prepared following macroscopic examination of a collection of stone artefacts from the Grassington area. The petrological characteristics of the collection are summarised at Table 3.

Lea Green 1

1/1 — Large fragment from the side of an axe or adze. Both sides of implement are visible, and there is a slight facet. The rock is a coarse grained andesite with fine grained inclusions having pale alteration rims and crystals across inclusion boundaries. Resembles Haweswater andesite but also Eycott Hill andesite. Thin sectioning would be required to identify more accurately.

1/2 — Fine-grained andesitic tuff. Shows either small area of facet or extreme of resharpened cutting edge.

Lea Green 2

2/1 — Large fragment of fine grained banded Seathwaite Fell tuff with polished faceted surface. Unusual fracture pattern possibly associated with a band of alkaline feldspars.

2/2 — Small thick blade like flake, showing area of polished surface. Rhyolitic andesitic tuff; strongly banded and chloritised. Langdale or Ullswater area.

2/3 — Fragment with curved polished surface. Hornstone, typical appearance of marginal facies of Esk Pike Hornstone.

2/4 — Flake of grey/green tuff, with iron oxide speckles. Sharply curving polished surface. Unusual tuff for Central Lakeland with unusual fracture pattern. Could be coarse grained banded andesitic tuff from Ullswater area.

2/5 — Flake of medium grained feldspathic tuff. Area of curved polished surface, from shattered implement, reworked. Fairly typical of Seathwaite Fell Tuff.

2/6 — Small flake of fine grained green tuff. Polished convex surface with small area of facet but no cutting edge. Small pale coloured veinlets with altered margins.

2/7 — Small chip of grey/green hornstone. No polished surface. Typical Group VI variant from near top of Seathwaite Fell Tuff Group.

2/8 — Small but thick irregular fragment of shattered implement with area of polished surface. Grey/green tuff, micaceous, not Group VI.

2/9 — Small chip of tuff with patches and veinlets of chlorite and occasional altered feldspars. Small area of polished surface.

2/10 — Small flake of blue/grey speckled rock with conchoidal fractures. Resembles rhyolitic andesitic tuff from Haweswater or Buttermere areas, but possibly carboniferous chert. Thin sectioning would be required to identify more accurately.

2/11 — Hornstone, fine grained texture, slightly banded and spherulitic.

Lea Green 3

3/1 — Discoidal core (Fig. 3 (1)) in very fine grained grey hornstone with area of polished surface on one side. Shows use of obsolete implements as raw material for other implements as possible flint substitute.

3/2 — Small irregular chunk of fine/medium grey/green Esk Pike hornstone. No polished surfaces.

TABLE 3: Analysis of artefacts

| | TUFF | ANDESITIC TUFF | RHYOLITIC ANDESITIC TUFF | HORNSTONE | CHERT | GRAIN SIZE | | | BANDING |
|----------------------|------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|-------|------------|------|--------|---------|
| | | | | | | FINE | MED. | COARSE | |
| <i>Lea Green 1</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 1/1 | | X | | | | | | X | |
| 1/2 | | X | | | | X | | | |
| <i>Lea Green 2</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 2/1 | X | | | | | X | | | X |
| 2/2 | | | X | | | X | | | X |
| 2/3 | | | | X | | X | | | |
| 2/4 | X | | | | | | | X | X |
| 2/5 | X | | | | | | | X | |
| 2/6 | X | | | | | | X | | |
| 2/7 | | | | X | | | | | |
| 2/8 | | | | | | | | | |
| 2/9 | X | | | | | | X | | |
| 2/10 | | | X | —or— | X | X | | | |
| 2/11 | | | | X | | X | | | X |
| <i>Lea Green 3</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 3/1 | | | | X | | X | | | |
| 3/2 | | | | X | | X | | | X |
| 3/3 | | | | X | | | | | |
| 3/4 | X | | | | | | | | |
| 3/5 | X | | | | | | X | | X |
| 3/6 | | | | X | | X | | | X |
| <i>Lea Green 6</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 6/1 | X | | | | | | X | | |
| <i>Lea Green 8</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 8/1 | X | | | | | | X | | |
| 8/2 | | | | X | | X | | | |
| <i>Lea Green 9</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 9/1 | X | | | | | | X | | |
| <i>Lea Green 11</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 11/1 | | | | X | | X | | | |
| <i>Lea Green</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| Misc (b) | | | | X | | X | | | |
| <i>Lea Green</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| Misc (c) | | | | X | | X | | | |
| <i>Bastow Wood 3</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 3/1 | X | | | | | | X | | |
| <i>Sweet Side 1</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 1/1 | X | | | | | X | | X | X |
| <i>Sweet Side 4</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| 4/1 | X | | | | | | X | | |
| 4/2 | X | | | | | X | | | |

3/3 — Small chip of fine grained grey hornstone similar to 3/1. Detached by blow to cutting edge possibly on wood.

3/4 — Small chip of tuff, Group VI. Struck from cutting edge by shallow angled blow against (?) rock.

3/5 — Blade like flake of coarse grained grey tuff, polished area on dorsal surface.

3/6 — Large fragment of hornstone with convex ground surface.

Lea Green 6

6/1 — Small blade of weathered tuff with large bulb of percussion.

Lea Green 8

8/1 — Small chip of fine/medium grey/green tuff, no polished surfaces.

8/2 — Slightly larger chip of grey hornstone, detached in use.

Lea Green 9

9/1 — Irregular chunk of medium/coarse grey/green tuff with large hinge fracture, sub-conchoidal. Small area of polished surface.

Lea Green 11

11/1 — Large flake of fine grained Esk Pike hornstone. Area of convex polished surface. Deep flaking scars not previously ground out.

Lea Green Miscellaneous (b)

Thick flake of fine grained banded hornstone, no polished surfaces.

Lea Green Miscellaneous (c)

Broad flake of fine grained hornstone from front of blade core, with area of polished surface. Suggests further use of obsolete implements as raw material source.

Bastow Wood 3

3/1 — Large flake of fine grey tuff, with convex polished surface and area of facet. Grinding marks on facet and diagonally across polished convex surface. Series of hinge fractures on dorsal surface typical of wood working use.

Sweet Side 1

1/1 — Fragment of grey/green tuff showing area of polished cutting edge. Typical Group VI. Implement may have failed along band of coarser grained material running parallel to edge.

Sweet Side 4

4/1 — Medium sized thin flake of vesicular tuff with area of polished surface. Reworked after detachment. Fracture pattern suggests use on wood.

4/2 — Flake detached from junction of facet and cutting edge of polished implement of fine grained grey feldspathic tuff typical of Ullswater area. Cutting edge displays regrinding.

General Comments (Petrological)

1. With the possible exception of Lea Green 2/10, all of the sample are volcanic rocks all of which visually match outcrops in the Lake District, many with other implements of known Group VI origin. The range of rock types encountered is well within the range of similar material from the Cumbrian limestone uplands (Davis in Cherry and Cherry 1987).
2. None of the rocks have strong visual resemblance to fine grained volcanic rocks from elsewhere e.g. North Wales.

3. About one third of the sample are fine grained hornstones which macroscopically match the Esk Pike hornstone and a horizon in the upper section of the Seathwaite Fell Tuffs, which outcrop in Central Lakeland.
4. No specimens exhibit distinguishing characteristics except perhaps Lea Green 1/1 which needs sectioning for its petrography to be better understood.
5. Local glacial deposits will contain green tuff rock as well as representatives of all other central Lake District rocks. Because of the restricted range of rocks represented in the sample, and given that fine/medium tuff boulders and pebbles may be difficult to recognise because of their weathered surfaces in the boulder clay, I would expect that the original implements were not manufactured from local glacial material but originated from a source or sources in the Central or Eastern Lake District. As yet we have no knowledge of any prehistoric implement making site in the Ullswater or Haweswater area.
6. The most likely local source of volcanic rock would have been the retreat moraine of Devensian age which occurs across the Wharfe Valley north of Grassington (Penny 1974, p. 258). The contents of this moraine were examined systematically as also were the fluvial deposits during near drought conditions between NGR056630 and NGR980670. The survey failed to locate any glacial material of suitable size and durability appropriate to the requirements of axe manufacture. No evidence was found of any volcanic rock used as walling material in any of the drystone walls within several miles of the find spots.
7. The shape of the fragments comprising this collection and the fracture patterns suggest a similar type of use for ground and polished stone implements in the Grassington area as that proposed for finds from the Cumbrian limestone uplands, namely some woodworking including adze function, but mainly as hoes for ground clearance.
8. There are no significant differences between material of this type collected at Grassington and on the Cumbrian limestone uplands. They could be included within a single class i.e. fragments of ground and occasionally polished fine grained volcanic rock probably from sources in central Lakeland, but with possible alternative sources in eastern Lakeland (for example, see Petterson 1992, pp. 54–61; Millward *et al.* 1978, p. 198) or associated with the inlier of similar rock in the upper Eden Valley (for example, see Skipsey 1992 pp. 123–33).

Some Conclusions

- (1) Fine grained volcanic rock which does not outcrop locally was predominant for the Grassington finds and also the finds from the Cumbrian limestone uplands. Systematic fieldwork in the Wharfedale area failed to locate significant deposits of glacial erratic material of the size appropriate for implement manufacture to match the range of implements of similar rock found in complete or fragmentary implements from the surrounding region.
- (2) Fine grained volcanic rock most commonly encountered in implements is composed almost entirely from finely divided feldspathic material which is easily weathered. Much of the small amount of volcanic rock collected from glacial and fluvial deposits in the Wharfedale area yielded conchoidal fractures but the durability and sharpness of the struck flakes was much less than that produced using similar tests on freshly quarried rock or rock detached from blocks adjacent to outcrops in the vicinity of the Great Langdale axe manufacture sites, or from the outcrops of volcanic rocks in the Eden Valley near Appleby-in-Westmorland. Glacial erratic rock will have

been subjected to intensive pressure and weathering during and after transportation which might be expected to reduce its implement manufacture suitability. Of course, this does not preclude the recognition, manufacture and use by Neolithic artisans of glacial debris found in Upper Wharfedale which was visually similar to the range of volcanic rocks known to have been exploited in the Great Langdale area for implement manufacture during the same period, but on the evidence from the Grassington area this is very unlikely. The situation is similar in the Cumbrian limestone uplands area except that large erratics of suitable rock were fairly common around the find spots and could have been used for implement manufacture.

- (3) Fragments indicate that faceted and round-edged implements were probably in simultaneous use. This variant needs further exploration to determine whether it is a functional or stylistic characteristic.
- (4) The proximity of trans-Lakeland routes associated with Great Langdale axe factory sites (e.g. Stake Pass, and Roman roads), may point to a similar situation if the rocks around Haweswater prove suitable for axe manufacture (i.e. the proximity to the Roman route across High Street may prove an interesting parallel).
- (5) A remarkable consistency is evident within and between the finds from Wharfedale and from the Cumbrian limestone uplands which suggests similar use of similar tools manufactured from a similar range of rock types from similar potential sources at a similar period of time.

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LOST NEOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE FINDS FROM MIXENDEN, NEAR HALIFAX, WEST YORKSHIRE

By Raymond A. Varley

The discovery of an assemblage of neolithic and bronze-age implements was made by a countryman whilst digging peat on Mixenden Moor, near Halifax in about 1776. Thomas Whitaker not only had the foresight to record these finds in his large book *Loidis and Elmete* (1816)¹ but also to have them illustrated by coloured drawings. These coloured drawings, with the omission of one arrowhead, appear to bear a real photographic likeness (Fig. 2) to what the implements must have looked like, which were, except for one arrowhead, in the possession of Whitaker in 1816, but may now be lost.

Although these finds were made by chance in the late eighteenth century, it is hoped that this paper will show the importance of such material collected, recorded and illustrated by local antiquarians in their publications, which have been somewhat neglected by prehistorians in their own researches, simply because the material is not available for study.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY

Whitaker begins his account of the discovery of these implements by writing 'About forty years ago ...'.² Since he wrote this statement in 1816 a date of c. 1776 would seem appropriate. A countryman in digging peat on Mixenden Moor struck his spade through a black polished stone axe (Fig. 2 (3)); adjacent to this was discovered a palstave (Fig. 2 (2)). Accompanying these finds were four black arrowheads (Fig. 2 (4), only three are illustrated), a gouge (Fig. 2 (5)) and a grooved hammer stone (Fig. 2 (1)).

F. A. Leyland³ further records some dimensions for these implements, thereby indicating their actual size. Although these implements may now be lost, Whitaker's account and drawings together with Leyland's measurements provide valuable information.

THE SITE LOCATION AND GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION

In describing the location of these finds Whitaker only refers to Mixenden Moor.⁴ However, Leyland in 1868 states that these finds were accidentally found in the vicinity of the Roman road which runs over Hunter Hill⁵ (Fig. 1), near Mixenden⁶ and subsequently sited by the Ordnance Survey in 1956 at Nat. Grid Ref. SE 05852977.⁷ Apparently this reference was sent to the Ordnance Survey by Mr R. Patterson, late of the Bankfield Museum, Halifax in 1950 after he noticed the find spot for these implements

¹ Whitaker, T. D., *Loidis and Elmete* (1816), pp. 373-74, illustration between pp. 374 and 375.

² *Ibid.*, p. 373.

³ Watson, J., *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Halifax* new edn with additions and corrections by Leyland, F. A. (1868), pp. 26-27.

⁴ Whitaker *op. cit.* in note 1, p. 373.

⁵ Watson *op. cit.* in note 3, p. 55.

⁶ Margary, I. D., *Roman Roads in Britain*, vol. 2 (1957) pp. 135-36, Pls. VI and VII. Hoyle, J. H., The Manchester-Ilkley Roman Road, *Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc.* (1916), pp. 177-229.

⁷ Ordnance Survey 6 in. to 1 mile (1:10560) sheet 2155, 1956 edn.

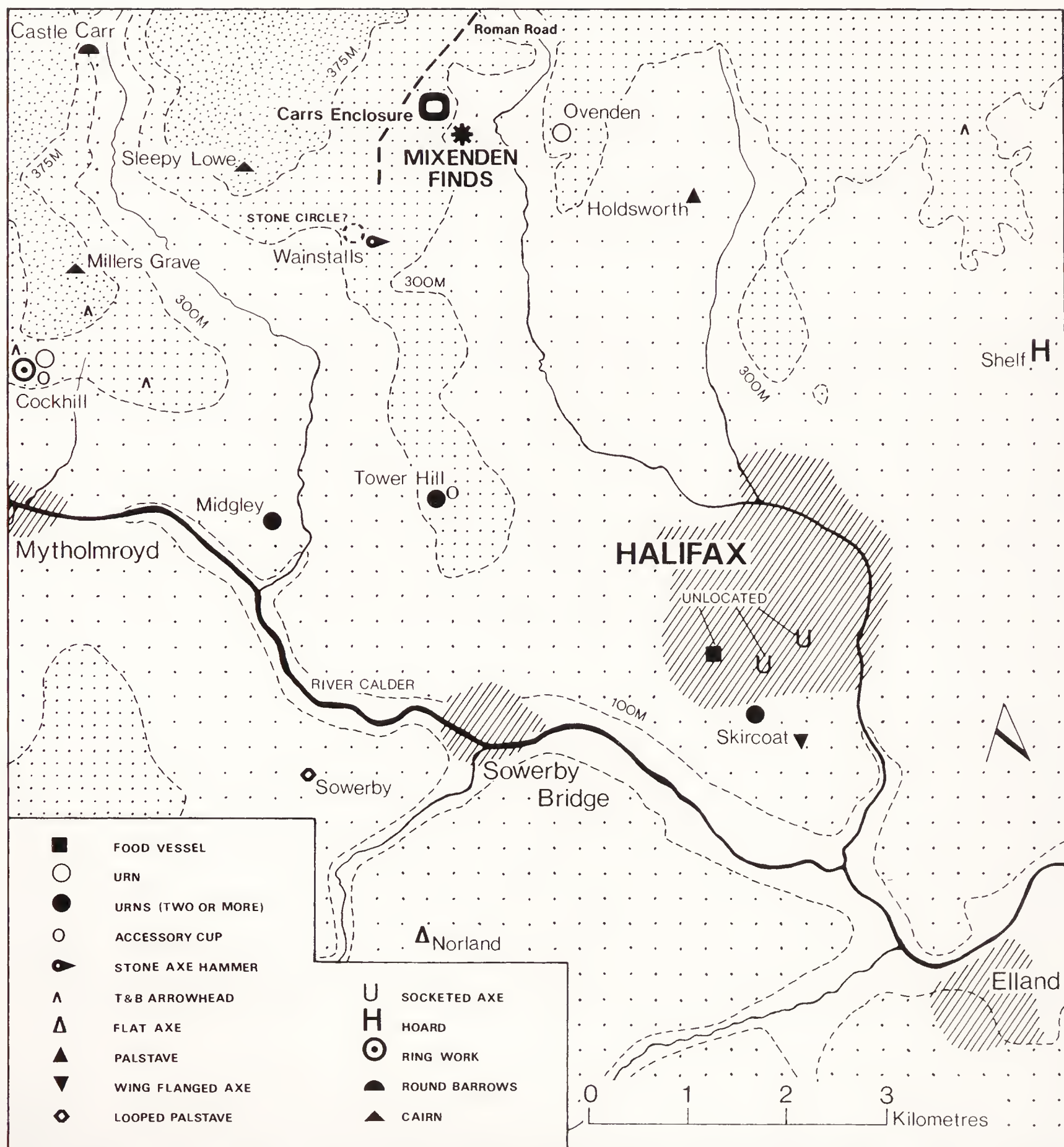


Fig. 1. The Mixenden tool assemblage location map, as sited by the O.S. 1956 with distribution of bronze-age finds in the area.

marked in pencil on the museum's 6 inch Ordnance Survey map used to locate historical and archaeological sites and finds.⁸ This map cannot now be traced in Bankfield Museum or the Halifax Library where some of the maps were transferred, so the original source of this siting is unknown and it may be no more than an approximate location.

The reputed site (Fig. 1) is situated 1.2 km north-west of Mixenden and 6.9 km north-west of Halifax (SE 05852977), on a hill slope in a field of bracken and rough grassland which was reclaimed land. It lies on millstone grit which forms the central Pennine

⁸ I am indebted to Mr R. Patterson and his wife for this information. O.S. Records SE 02NE.

plateau at an altitude of 280 m O.D. Immediately to the east runs the Hebble Brook which meanders south-east through Halifax and is one of many tributaries that fed the river Calder into which it flows near Exley. In this region of Calderdale the countryside is relatively rich in early bronze-age remains⁹, and an important enclosure site, which could have its origins in the Bronze Age, lies just to the north-west at the top of the incline on Ovenden Moor.¹⁰

THE FINDS

No scale is indicated on the drawing, but if the measurements given by Leyland¹¹ are correct the palstave, polished stone axe and gouge were drawn at natural size and the grooved hammer stone more than full size. Leyland did not give measurements for the four arrowheads of which only three were illustrated, but they appear to have been drawn more than full size in relationship to the other implements. These drawings are unfortunately the only pictorial record we have of these items which may now be lost.

GROOVED HAMMER STONE (FIG. 2 (1))

If Leyland's measurements for this grooved hammer stone are correct, the drawing is more than full size. It appears to be complete with a length of about 3 ins (77 mm) and a circumference at the base of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins (190 mm). The waist had been ground down and rounded concave of about one third of its length. The head was rounded and blunt and the butt had gently rounded edges with a slightly round base which had been chipped on the right-hand side as can be seen on the drawing. The illustrated surface of the grooved hammer stone appears to be rough and weathered, coloured mottled green, buff-brown and grey-black. Whitaker records it as a green pebble speckled white. The white speckling can be seen mostly down the left-hand side towards the middle.

PALSTAVE AXE (FIG. 2 (2))

The illustrated axe is complete, length $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins (140 mm) and width of cutting edge $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins (64 mm). Since this axe has been drawn full size the measurement of the butt can also be taken, which would have been 18 mm. Whitaker was somewhat impressed by the good condition of the axe which apparently had never been used, the cutting edge being very sharp. The cutting edge is widely splayed to a fan shape and pointed at the tips. The side of the illustrated axe appears to be straight with a nick or ridge a little below the stop and the butt is rounded. The axe has been coloured golden brown and between the flanges the surface shows signs of some pitting and greenish patina which also appears on the side.

POLISHED STONE AXE (FIG. 2 (3))

This axe, though struck by the spade of a digger, appears to be complete and has been given the following dimensions, length 5 ins (127 mm), width at cutting edge $2\frac{3}{8}$ ins (58 mm) and width at butt $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins (38 mm). On the face illustrated it has been chipped at the butt and one chip on the right-hand side near the cutting edge and there are

⁹. Varley, R. A., *Bronze Axes from Calderdale*, *YAJ* 49 (1977), pp. 51–58, Fig. 5.

¹⁰. Varley, R. A., *The Excavation of Castle Stead at Manywells Height, near Cullingworth, West Yorkshire*, *Trans. Hunter Archaeol. Soc.* 19 (1997), pp. 32–42.

A trial excavation was carried out on this site in 1951 by the Halifax Antiquarian Society. During the excavation sherds of pottery were found which were at the time described as *Brigantian*. These pottery sherds (since lost) would have helped to determine the date of this site. I would like to thank Mr G. G. Watson, late of the Middlesbrough Museum, for providing me with a summary of the excavation and additional information relating to the enclosure. O.S. Records SE 02NE3.

¹¹. Watson *op. cit.* in note 3, p. 55.

abrasions down the centre. In the coloured drawing the overall surface is dull black and the axe appears to be in almost good condition.

ARROWHEADS (FIG. 2 (4 A, B AND C))

Whitaker records that four arrowheads of black flint or basalt were found with the implements, but only three are illustrated. They were barbed and tanged, complete and in perfect condition. The surfaces illustrated show that all three arrowheads had flake scars, some of which were along the edges. The barbs were shorter than the expanded tangs. These arrowheads are coloured in the following order (Fig. 2 (4 a)) buff-brown grey (Fig. 2 (4 b)) dark brown grey-black (Fig. 2 (4 c)) fawn-brown grey.

STONE GOUGE (FIG. 2 (5))

The stone gouge was $4\frac{5}{8}$ ins (117 mm) long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins (38 mm) at the cutting edge. If these measurements are correct the width of the butt would have been 1.5 cm (15 mm). The illustrated surface shows a parallel line down each side which emphasises the smooth concave middle. The cutting edge has been gently rounded and polished and the butt has been chipped. It has also been chipped in one place on the right-hand side near the cutting edge and in two places down the middle of the left-hand side. The face illustrated is coloured overall buff-brown and appears to be in almost perfect condition.

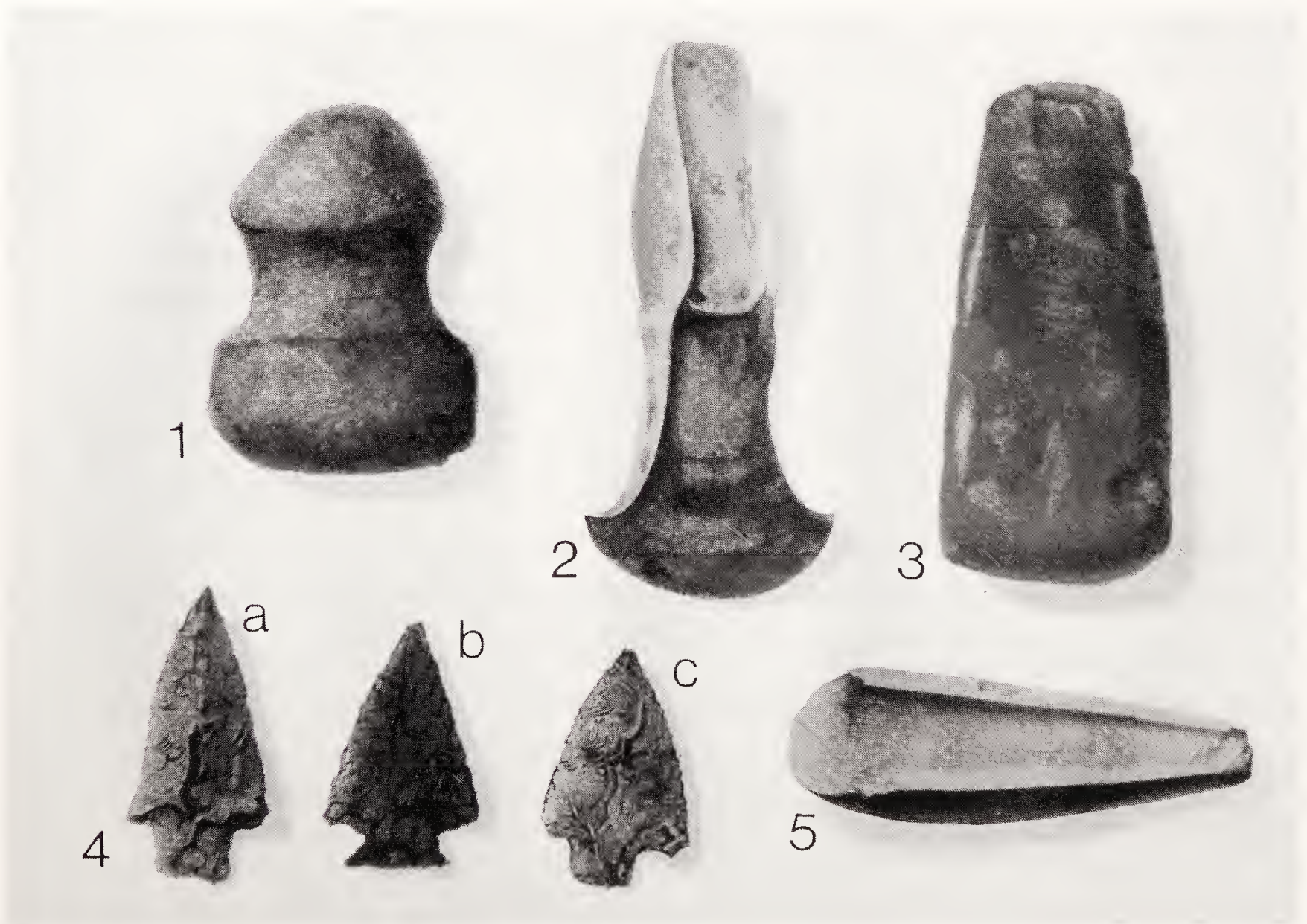


Fig. 2. The Mixenden tool assemblage. 1: grooved hammer stone; 2: palstave axe; 3: polished stone axe; 4 a, b and c: arrowheads; 5: stone gouge.

DISCUSSION

The Mixenden tool assemblage produced different types of implements (Fig. 2 (1–5)) dating from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age, which were apparently found as a group. It can be argued that they are contemporary, being deposited together. What is not certain however, is why they were deposited together. The combination of these implements may suggest a homesteader's possession rather than a merchant's hoard, and there is probably no single explanation for the tool assemblage. They may have been buried for safekeeping, or they may be offerings or even votive offerings accompanying a burial, although there is no mention of one in the available records. One of the problems of early antiquarians is that they were more interested in the aesthetic value of the objects than in the context in which they were found, so any indications of a burial may have gone unrecognised.

The earliest diagnostic implement in this assemblage is likely to be the polished stone axe (Fig. 2 (3)). This axe could have been a product of one of the axe chipping sites on Great Langdale or Scafell Pikes in the Cumbrian Mountains of north-west England.¹² The majority of axes made here are of Class 2a which have a thin profile and broad-butts and are known as the *Cumbrian* type. These axes vary in length from 150 to 380 mm and their petrology is always *Group VI*.¹³ Although no section or profile was drawn for the Mixenden axe, its length of 5 ins (127 mm) falls just short of the normal length range; it was, however, characteristic of *Cumbrian* type axes which have their greatest distribution in the north of England.¹⁴ Radley has shown that polished stone axes which are assignable to *Group VI* were not exported from the Lake District into Yorkshire before the Middle Neolithic, c. 2600–2100 BC.¹⁵

In the north of England the latest certain associations for *Group VI* axes appear to be with three coexisting types of pottery, namely Grooved Ware,¹⁶ All-Over-Cord and early style comb-decorated Beakers;¹⁷ together they span the end of the Later Neolithic and the beginning of the Earlier Bronze Age.

During the last half century a number of Neolithic polished stone axes has been recovered in the area. At Holmfield north-east of Mixenden, three polished stone axes were recovered near Brigg Royd Farm.¹⁸ A stone axe was found at Green Lane Hall, Shelf¹⁹ and another near Haley Hill which was broken at the butt.²⁰ A greenstone axe was discovered at Hollins,²¹ Warley north of the Mixenden deposit, unfortunately now lost and at Crow Wood,²² near Sowerby Bridge a large weathered polished stone axe

¹² Manby, T. G., The Distribution of Rough Out 'Cumbrian' and Related Stone Axes of Lake District Origin in Northern England, *Trans. Cumberland & Westmorland Antiq. & Archaeol. Soc.* 65 (1965), pp. 1–37.

¹³ Manby, T. G., Typology, Materials and Distribution of Flint and Stone Axes in Yorkshire, in Clough, T. H. McK., and Cummins, W. A., eds, *Stone Axe Studies*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 23 (1979), pp. 65–81.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 72–73, Fig. 6.

¹⁵ Keen, L., and Radley, J., The Petrological Identification of Stone Axes from Yorkshire, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 37 (1971), pp. 16–27.

¹⁶ Manby, T. G., *Grooved Ware Sites in Yorkshire and the North of England*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Series 9 (1974).

¹⁷ Manby 1979, *op. cit.* in note 13, Appendix A, pp. 79–80.

¹⁸ Roth, H. L., *The Yorkshire Coiners 1767–1783 and Notes on Prehistoric Halifax* (1906), p. 299, Fig. 206. Watson, G. G., *Early Man in the Halifax District* (1952), p. 70, Map C.

¹⁹ Barnes, B., *Man and the Changing Landscape: A Study of Occupation and Palaeo Environment in the Central Pennines*. Liverpool University Department of Prehistoric Archaeology Work Notes 3, (1982), p. 117.

²⁰ Watson *op. cit.* in note 18, p. 72, Map C.

²¹ Petch, J. A., *Early Man in the District of Huddersfield* Tolson Memorial Museum Publication, Handbook 3 (1924), p. 50.

²² Gilks, J. A., Sowerby Bridge, Crow Wood, in Moorhouse, S., *The Yorkshire Archaeological Register*, 1978, *YAJ* 51 (1979), p. 3. Watson *op. cit.* in note 18, p. 71, Map C.

was found. Some of these axes might well have been accidental losses. They were probably used during land clearance.

The bronze palstave axe (Fig. 2 (2)) found in the Mixenden tool assemblage is of special interest as it is likely to place the group in a bronze-age context. No section was drawn for the palstave axe but the illustration (Fig. 2 (2)) shows flanges along the sides to grip the haft firmly and a stopridge between the flanges to prevent the haft from driving down too far and splitting the wooden haft which would have been bound with string. The Mixenden palstave axe was not included in the catalogue by Schmidt and Burgess²³; its classification is rather a difficult one. Only one side of the axe has been illustrated with the absence of a loop. However, if the Mixenden palstave axe had a loop, undoubtedly the illustrator would have included it as an important feature. So we can safely say that the palstave axe did not have a loop.

Some aspects of palstave classification can raise acute problems of subjectivity in the borderline areas. A single hoard may contain a bewildering variety of palstaves, exhibiting all sorts of permutations of ornaments and blade treatment, looped and unlooped. Nevertheless, the Mixenden palstave axe shows some characteristics whereby it may be tentatively assigned to the Pickering phase which is a regional industry classified by Burgess.²⁴ In addition, it may also have belonged to Group 1 of early palstaves and date to a period of about 1650–1400 BC.

The bronze axes that occur in the Halifax area (Fig. 1) are derived from surface finds and lack association with other cultural material. Perhaps the earliest bronze-age axe to be found in the Calderdale area of Halifax is a flat axe discovered at Hipperholme.²⁵ It is a simple plain copper flat axe attributable to the beginning of the Mount Pleasant Period.²⁶ At Norland a flat bronze axe recently discovered²⁷ might well be as late as the beginning of the Overton Period.²⁸ A flanged axe was found on Rishworth Moor²⁹ which is of the Arreton type³⁰ with hammer rippling decoration, and is attributable to the Bedd Branwen Period.³¹ A recent find in the area is a butt of an unclassified palstave axe found at Holdsworth³² which was broken in antiquity. Another early find is a wing flanged axe found at Skircoat³³ on the north side of the River Calder, of the Hotham Carr Phase. A looped palstave found in Sowerby³⁴ on the south side of the River Calder belongs to the Wellington Phase³⁵ as does the Shelf hoard³⁶ (Fig. 1 (H)) and a large basal looped

²³ Schmidt, P. K. and Burgess, C. G., The Axes of Scotland and Northern England, *Praehistorische Bronzefunde* Ab IX, Band 7 (1981).

²⁴ Burgess, C., *The Age of Stonehenge* (1980), pp. 115–30. Burgess, C., *Bronze Age Metalwork in Northern England c. 1000 to 700 BC* (1968), pp. 3–40.

²⁵ Varley 1977, *op. cit.* in note 9, p. 51, Fig. 1.

²⁶ Burgess 1980, *op. cit.* in note 24, pp. 71–73, Fig. 2. 13. Schmidt and Burgess 1981, *op. cit.* in note 23, p. 28, Pl. 3, 33.

²⁷ Gilks, J. A., An Early Bronze Flat Axe from Norland Town, near Halifax, *Trans. Halifax Antiq. Soc.* 1 New Series (1993), pp. 12–14, Fig. 1.

²⁸ Burgess 1980, *op. cit.* in note 24, pp. 112–15.

²⁹ Varley, R. A., An Early Bronze Age Flanged Axe from Rishworth Moor, near Halifax, West Yorkshire, *forthcoming*.

³⁰ Schmidt and Burgess 1981, *op. cit.* in note 23, pp. 72–73, Pl. 108, 425A.

³¹ Burgess 1980, *op. cit.* in note 24, pp. 112–115.

³² Hartley, R., Holdsworth, in Thorp, F. The Yorkshire Archaeological Register, 1975, *YAJ* 48 (1976), p. 2.

³³ Varley, R. A., Bronze Age Finds from Skircoat, Halifax, *YAJ* 45 (1973), pp. 173–74, Fig. 3 (3). Schmidt and Burgess 1981, *op. cit.* in note 23, pp. 101, Pl. 48, 622.

³⁴ Roth *op. cit.* in note 18, pp. 296–97, Fig. 200. Schmidt and Burgess 1981, *op. cit.* in note 23, p. 152, Pl. 66, 913.

³⁵ Burgess 1968, *op. cit.* in note 24, pp. 65–66.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 14, 66–68, Fig. 6. Schmidt and Burgess 1981, *op. cit.* in note 23, pp. 147–48, 150, 152, 157, 158, 161, 163–64, 170, Pl. 62, 852–58, Pl. 63, 865, 876, Pl. 65, 893, Pl. 66, 909, 922, Pl. 67, 933.

spear from Hoveringham Gravel Pit, Brighouse.³⁷ The Shelf hoard, an important industrial assemblage, contained palstaves and spearheads. This was probably a traders' hoard because it contained unfinished and pristine implements. The palstaves in the Shelf hoard are particularly important because they resemble Wilburton forms of the eighth century BC. Socketed axes represent the end of the Bronze Age in Calderdale; two were found in the parish of Halifax *c.* 1868,³⁸ although the exact location is not known and the larger of the two axes is now lost. The surviving socketed axe³⁹ is of the South-eastern type, characterised Variant Shobury⁴⁰ which span the whole of the Ewart Park phase.

The barbed and tanged arrowheads (Fig. 2 (4 a, b and c)) could have further supported a bronze age date for the Mixenden assemblage of tools. Arrowheads accompanying burials under round barrows are almost exclusively of the barbed and tanged form.⁴¹ They are present in varying numbers and it is not unusual to find more than one in a grave. Barbed and tanged arrowheads of different shapes are found associated with several traditions from the final Neolithic through into the Bronze Age and they occur more frequently with inhumations rather than with cremations.⁴² Arrowheads are a widespread indicator of archery, but what is not clear is if they represented settlement, hunting, warfare or a combination of these. In this part of the central Pennines the barbed and tanged arrowheads that have been found are more likely to have been used for hunting than warfare. These arrowheads from Mixenden would have originally been secured to wooden shafts. There is no record of a bow being found with them; however, wooden bows have been found on a number of sites in Britain, two of which have radiocarbon dates of 1730 ± 110 bc (Q-684) and 1320 ± 110 bc (Q-669).⁴³ A burial of an inhumation, dated *c.* 2100 BC, in the Stonehenge ditch was found with three flint barbed and tanged arrowheads and a stone bracer used to protect the archer's arm against the whip of the bowstring, thereby adding to our knowledge of Bronze Age archery equipment. The tips of two arrowheads found with the inhumation were embedded in the bones and were almost certainly the cause of death.⁴⁴

The grooved hammer stone (Fig. 2 (1)) and the stone gouge (Fig. 2 (5)) which form part of the implement assemblage from Mixenden are more difficult to date and are quite uncommon tools in this part of the West Yorkshire Pennines. The grooved hammer stone is the type of implement that may have been used as a mining tool, although there are other uses. A site at Alderley Edge, Cheshire,⁴⁵ where copper was mined, used similar grooved hammers, possibly prehistoric in date. These hammers are larger than the Mixenden one and vary in length from $4\frac{1}{8}$ (98 mm) to 6 ins (148 mm).⁴⁶ At the margin of one of these mines many flint flakes, cores, knives and a scraper were discovered which

³⁷ Gilks, J. A., Bronze Age Pottery and a Basal-Looped Spearhead from West Yorkshire, *YAJ* 45 (1973), p. 179, Fig. 4, 5.

³⁸ Roth *op. cit.* in note 18, p. 297.

³⁹ Schmidt and Burgess 1981, *op. cit.* in note 23, p. 214, Pl. 85, 1274.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-17.

⁴¹ Ashbee, P., *The Bronze Age Round Barrow in Britain* (1960), p. 104.

⁴² Healey, E., The Arrowheads, in Brewster, T. C. M., Two Bronze Age Barrows in the North Riding of Yorkshire, *YAJ* 45 (1973), pp. 69-71, Fig. 13.

⁴³ Clark, J. G. D., Neolithic Bows from Somerset, England, and the Prehistory of Archery in North-Western Europe, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 29 (1963), pp. 50-98, Fig. 12, nos 6 and 5.

⁴⁴ Evans, J. G., Stonehenge: The Environment in the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age and a Beaker Age Burial, *Wiltshire Archaeol. Natur. Hist. Mag.*, 78 (1984), pp. 7-30.

⁴⁵ Roeder, C., Prehistoric and Subsequent Mining at Alderley Edge, with a sketch of the Archaeological Features of the Neighbourhood, *Trans. Lancashire & Cheshire Antiq. Soc.* 19 (1901), pp. 77-118.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

could support a prehistoric date for the hammers.⁴⁷ No exact date or period can be given for these grooved hammer stones, but if they are prehistoric, the fact that they were used to mine copper could place them in a late neolithic/earlier bronze-age context. There are no copper mines in the Calderdale area of West Yorkshire, so the Mixenden grooved hammer stone may have been used for pounding and crushing food, as well as on rocks and trees; it possibly had a neolithic/bronze-age date.

The stone gouge (Fig. 2 (5)) must also be assigned to the neolithic/bronze-age periods which would be in keeping with the other implements dated in the Mixenden tool assemblage. This stone gouge was a very rare find, not only in the West Yorkshire Pennines but in the north of England, and it would have had a variety of uses.

Flint and stone tools including stone polished axes and arrowheads remained in use despite the impact of metal. This can perhaps be demonstrated by the polished stone axe discovered with four barbed and tanged arrowheads, a bronze palstave axe, a grooved hammer stone and a stone gouge (Fig. 2 (1-5)) which represents the Mixenden tool assemblage. The flint and stone tools would have no doubt supplemented the infrequent bronze implements in the Calderdale area. Stone versions were still being used in the Earlier Bronze Age, and shaft-hole stone axe-hammers⁴⁸ (Fig. 1) were still in use to the end of the Earlier Bronze Age *c.* 1400 BC.⁴⁹ It seems most likely that during the earlier phase of bronze-age penetration into the Calderdale area of the Pennines, both stone and metal tools were carried over the same route by the same type of traveller. There were no clear cut divisions between the ages of stone and metal; periods therefore should be regarded only as broad divisions of prehistoric time, their beginnings and ends not marked by events such as invasion or dynastic change. Innovations such as metal, which is one traditional mark of period transition, arrived gradually, and for many hundreds of years stone tools were used by people who were familiar with more valuable material.

DATING AND CONCLUSION

The best dating evidence for the Mixenden tool assemblage appears to be the polished stone axe (Fig. 2 (3)) and the bronze palstave axe (Fig. 2 (2)); together they cover periods of the end of the Later Neolithic and the end of the Earlier Bronze Age. Though it is not possible to prove conclusively that the grooved hammer stone (Fig. 2 (1)) and the stone gouge (Fig. 2 (5)) belonged to the Neolithic or Bronze Age, in the absence of data these can only be dated to within the time bracket suggested for the polished stone axe and the bronze palstave axe as they were found in the same tool assemblage.

The present evidence available for the Neolithic/Bronze Age in the Calderdale area are the combination of flint and stone tools and bronze finds coupled with burials and stone circles (Fig. 1). The problem of the economic exploitation has been considered by Stephen Pierpoint,⁵⁰ who stresses the limitations of human activity and settlement. The vast changes took place in the Bronze Age.

Because many traditions in terms of artefacts remained unchanged from the Later Neolithic through into the Bronze-Age periods, particularly in the Calderdale region of

⁴⁷. Roeder, C., and Graves, F. S., Recent Archaeological Discoveries at Alderley Edge, *Trans. Lancashire & Cheshire Antiq. Soc.* 23 (1905), pp. 17-29.

⁴⁸. Varley, R. A., A Stone Axe-Hammer, Robin Hood's Penny Stone and Stone Circle at Wainstalls, Warley near Halifax, West Yorkshire, *YAJ* 69 (1997), pp. 9-20, Fig. 3.

⁴⁹. Smith, I. F., The Chronology of British Stone Implements, in Clough, T. H. McK., and Cummins, W. A., eds, *Stone Axe Studies*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 23 (1979) pp. 13-22. Leahy, K., A Dated Stone Axe-Hammer from Cleethorpes, South Humberside, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 52 (1986), pp. 143-52.

⁵⁰. Pierpoint, S., *Social Patterns in Yorkshire Prehistory 3500-7500 BC*. Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 74 (1980).

the Pennines, this makes assigning this assemblage of tools from Mixenden difficult. From the dates suggested above, the Mixenden deposit can be tentatively dated to the Late Neolithic/Later Earlier Bronze Age.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL MITIGATION IN THE FLAVIAN FORT ANNEXE AND LATER ROMAN SETTLEMENT AT BRADLEY STREET, CASTLEFORD, WEST YORKSHIRE, 1991-93

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SUMMARY

Following proposals to construct a new Jobcentre on land previously occupied by an iron foundry (SE 4275 2589), an archaeological evaluation was carried out. This revealed evidence for Romano-British deposits and features over most of the site, including a series of large north-south aligned ditches to the east of Bradley Street and a major north-south aligned wall to the west. As a result, a mitigation strategy was prepared to minimise the impact of the development on the archaeological resource. This resulted in the excavation of c.5% of the site, representing only those areas that would be disturbed by the development. The excavation was carried out during November and December 1992 and a watching brief was maintained during parts of the construction in 1993.

Previous work in Roman Castleford has identified at least two first-century forts, the second of which included an annexe to the north. A *vicus*, which appeared to continue into the second century, has been identified to the south-west of these forts. The results from the present work at Bradley Street could neither confirm nor deny the presence of an earlier fort, but dumped material identified to the north of a natural scarp/river terrace may represent activity associated with this earlier phase. The presence of an annexe associated with the second fort appeared to be represented by at least two of the six ditches identified. In addition, apparently later structural evidence indicated at least one timber-framed building with associated deposits and finds, indicating activity connected with metalworking, copper alloy in particular.

During the third century, new defences were erected on the site of the former fort, the southern side of which consisted of at least three east-west aligned parallel ditches. The northern, innermost, ditch was subsequently replaced by a stone wall. The excavations at Bradley Street identified a similar, though essentially undated sequence of events, presumably representing the eastern side of the defensive circuit. The eastern edge of a building which may be contemporary was also identified. The building was cut by an undated grave containing a crouched inhumation, probably of Anglian date. In addition, a substantial north-south aligned ditch to the east of Bradley Street has been dated to the twelfth to fourteenth century but it is not known if this represents the recutting of an earlier, Roman, ditch.

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND TO THE PROJECT

In the Romano-British period the town of Castleford was the site of a Roman fort and a later settlement (Fig. 1) and proposals to build a new Jobcentre at the north end of Bradley Street (SE 4275 2589) on a site likely to be within the Roman fort led to an archaeological evaluation being undertaken in November 1991 by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service.

Until 1991 the site had been occupied by the nineteenth-century Providence Iron Foundry. Despite the considerable disturbance caused by the foundry, six machine dug trenches, representing a *c.* 5% sample, revealed evidence of archaeological deposits and features over most of the site (Fig. 2). A number of ditches aligned north-south were found and may represent the eastern limit of the annexe associated with the second phase of the first-century AD Roman fort or ditches associated with the later Roman defences. To the west of these ditches was a stone-packed foundation trench for a north-south wall dated to the later Roman period (third or fourth century AD) and which may also have formed part of a defensive circuit around the settlement (Fig. 1).¹

In the light of these results, a mitigation strategy was prepared to minimise the impact of the development on the archaeological deposits. By using piled foundations and suspended floors over most of the area only a small amount of the archaeological deposits would be destroyed during construction. Consequently only those areas that would be destroyed by the development were excavated. Some *c.* 5% of the site was subject to manual excavation and a construction watching brief was maintained during the piling operations and the machine excavation of service trenches, thus ensuring that no archaeological deposits were destroyed without being adequately recorded. The excavation took place between November and December 1992 and the watching brief in February, March, and August 1993.

GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

Castleford lies on the eastern edge of the Carboniferous Westphalian coal measures, immediately to the west of the New Red Sandstone Magnesian Limestone and Permian Marl belt. This north-south aligned belt forms the boundary between the coal measures and Carboniferous Millstone Grit to the west and the New Red Sandstone Keuper and Bunter Sandstones to the east.² The overlying soils are predominantly stagnogley brown earths, resulting from Carboniferous and Lower Palaeozoic shale, sandstone and associated drift.³

Most of the modern town is sited on the southern side of the River Aire valley which rises to a height of over 70 m O.D. at this point. The Bradley Street site lies close to the river at a height of *c.* 13–14 m. Approximately 30 km east of Castleford the River Aire joins the River Ouse.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

Roman Castleford has been the subject of a series of major excavations. These excavations, which began in 1974 in advance of a programme of urban redevelopment,⁴ demonstrated the presence of extensive Roman remains. The principal sites are the first-

¹ West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, *Bradley Street, Castleford* (SE 42752589): Archaeological Evaluation of Former Iron Foundry Site (Wakefield, unpubl. client report 1992).

² Ordnance Survey, *Geological Map of Great Britain: Sheet 2* (Chessington 1971).

³ B. W. Avery, D. C. Findlay and D. Mackney, *Soil Map of England and Wales* (Southampton 1975).

⁴ P. Abramson, *The Story of Roman Castleford* (Wakefield 1990), p. 3.

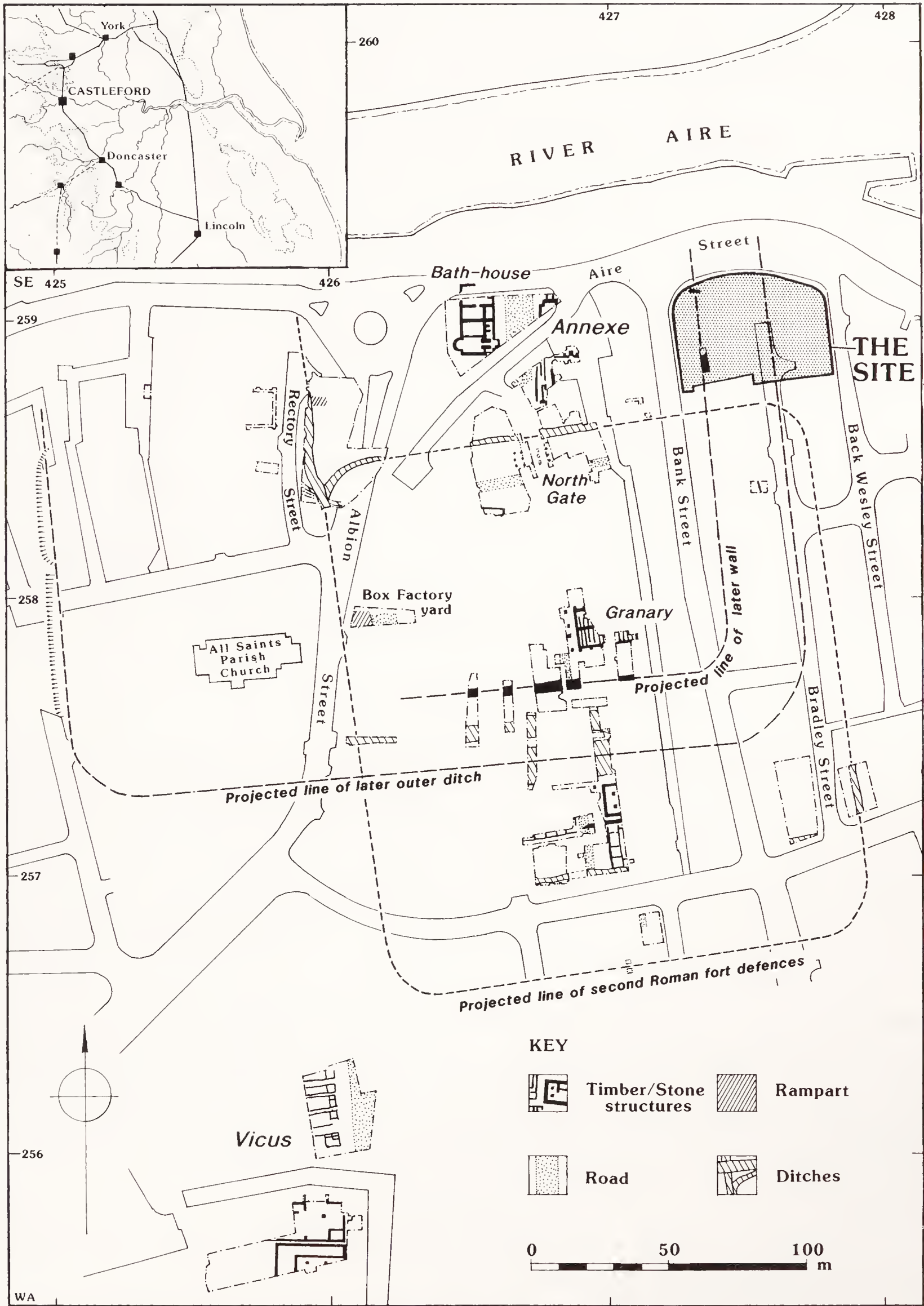


Fig. 1. Site location in relation to Flavian military sites in north-east England (inset) and the principal Roman discoveries in Castleford (after Abramson 1988). The earthwork aligned north-south to the west of All Saints Parish Church is recorded on the 1888 Ordnance Survey map.

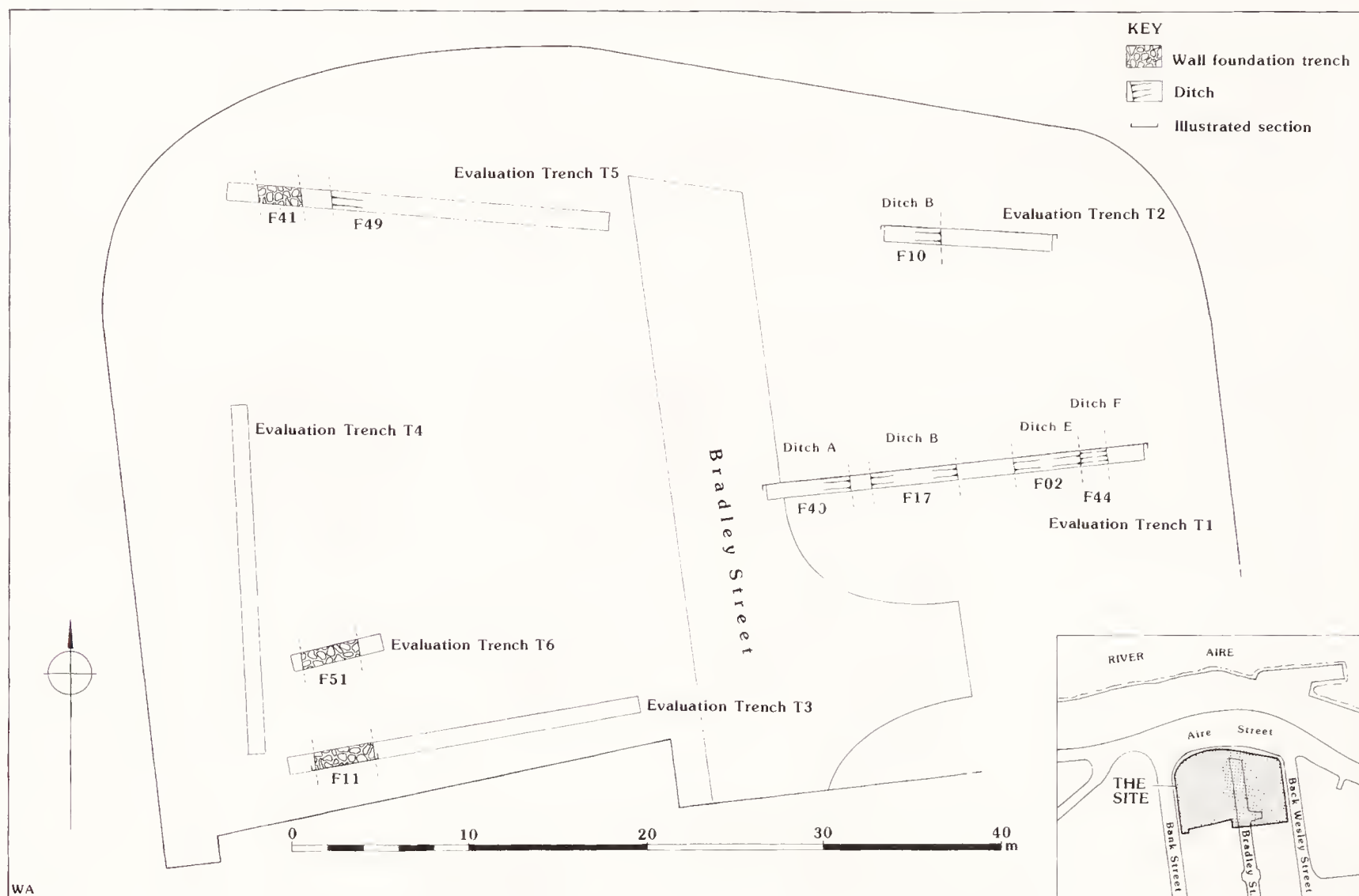


Fig. 2. Location of evaluation trenches.

century AD Roman fort and its associated *vicus*, and a later Roman defensive circuit (Fig. 1). The early fort is thought to have been founded in *c.* AD 70 and been abandoned by *c.* AD 95. The *vicus* is thought to have continued in use into the second century. In the third century a substantial series of defences were built on the site of the earlier forts. These excavations did not produce any evidence to suggest that the settlement at Castleford was occupied into the immediate post-Roman period.

The Roman name for Castleford is not attested epigraphically but documentary sources suggest several possibilities, of which *Lagentium* is the most likely, perhaps meaning 'the fort of the swordsmen' or 'spearmen'.⁵ This name was eventually lost, to be replaced by the Anglo-Saxon name of *Ceasterford*, meaning 'ford near the fortification'. Excavated evidence for medieval occupation at Castleford is scant, but twelfth to fourteenth-century documentary sources attest to a church, a crossing point over the River Aire, and mills next to the river. Eighteenth-century maps of Castleford show a small settlement focused on a triangle formed by the three streets which are now known as Albion Street, Aire Street and Rectory Street. Any visible remains of the Roman and medieval settlements finally disappeared during the industrial revolution and its aftermath.

METHODS

The excavation (Figs 3-4; November-December 1992)

The excavation comprised four separate areas (Fig. 3). Area A in the south-west corner of the site was *c.* 100 m², to accommodate a sunken floor where it was necessary for the

⁵ A. L. F. Rivet and C. R. Smith, *The Place Names of Roman Britain* (London 1979), p. 383.

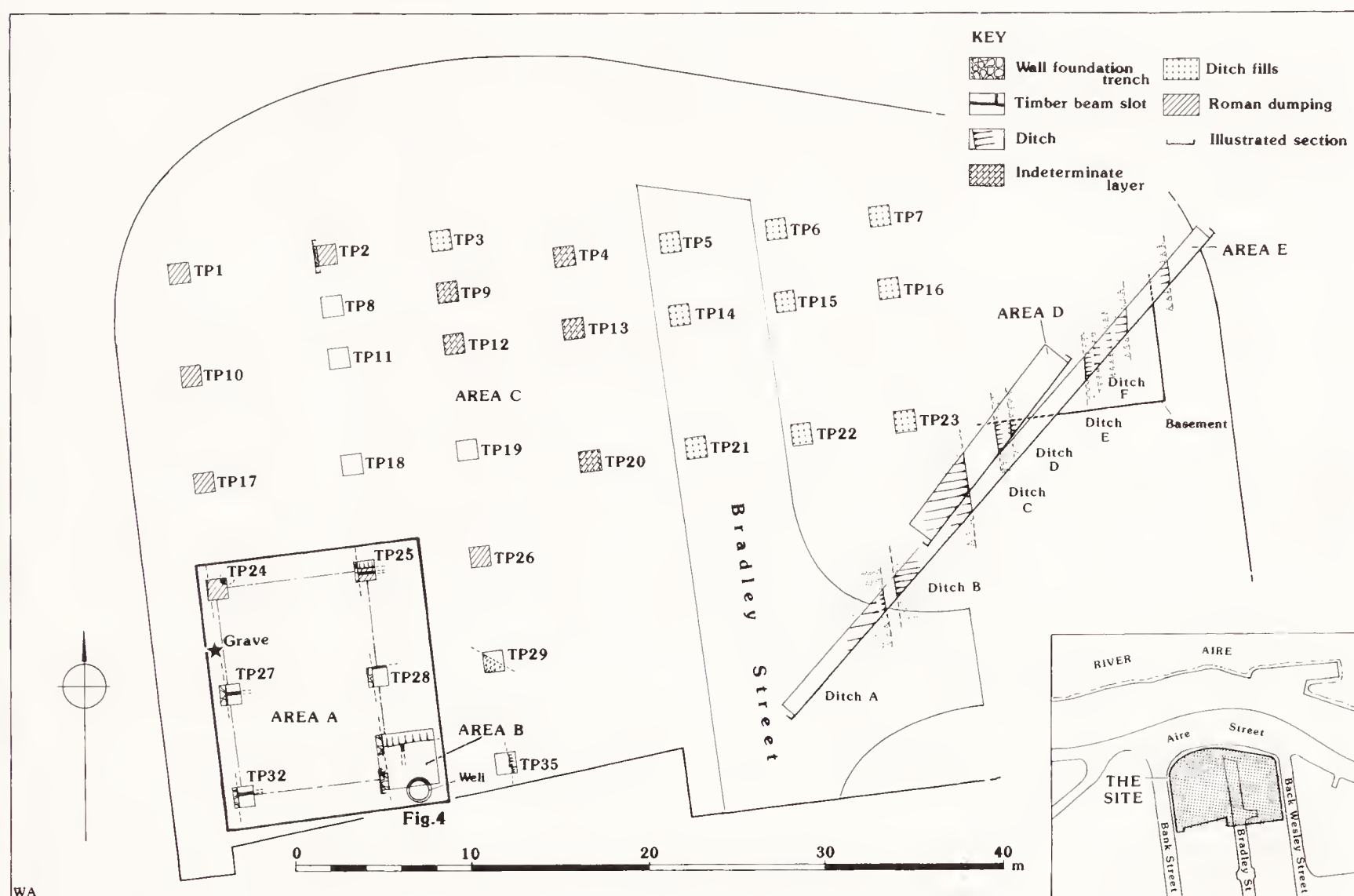


Fig. 3. Location of excavation areas, test pits and trenches subject to a watching brief.

building to cut into the slope (Fig. 4). Area B, also in the south-west of the site was an excavation for a lift shaft sump covering an area of *c.* 10 m² and incorporated pile caps 30-1 and 33-4 (Fig. 4). Area C comprised the excavation of the remaining 29 pile caps, each 1.44 m², for the foundation of the building (referred to hereinafter as 'test pits'). Area D was the excavation of the trench for a sewer pipe in the south-east of the site, covering an area of *c.* 20 m² (Figs 3, 5). In order to minimise the destruction of archaeological deposits the excavations ceased at a level determined by the depth of the relevant foundation or formation level.

The watching brief (Fig. 3; February-March and August 1993)

The watching brief monitored all building work considered to be a potential threat to undisturbed archaeological deposits, and took place in two phases. The first, and principal, phase entailed monitoring the insertion of foundation piles where the excavation of test pits had stopped at pre-determined levels, based on architectural constraints, but where further archaeological deposits remained below this depth. The remaining section of the trench for the sewer pipe was excavated during this phase of work. The second phase of the watching brief entailed monitoring the excavation of the trenches for the other services for the new building. In relation to the first phase of the watching brief the extent and depth of these trenches was comparatively slight.

OBSERVATIONS

Due to the limited investigation of the development area (*c.* 5% by evaluation trenches, *c.* 5% by hand-excavation), and the constraints of the various methods employed confident

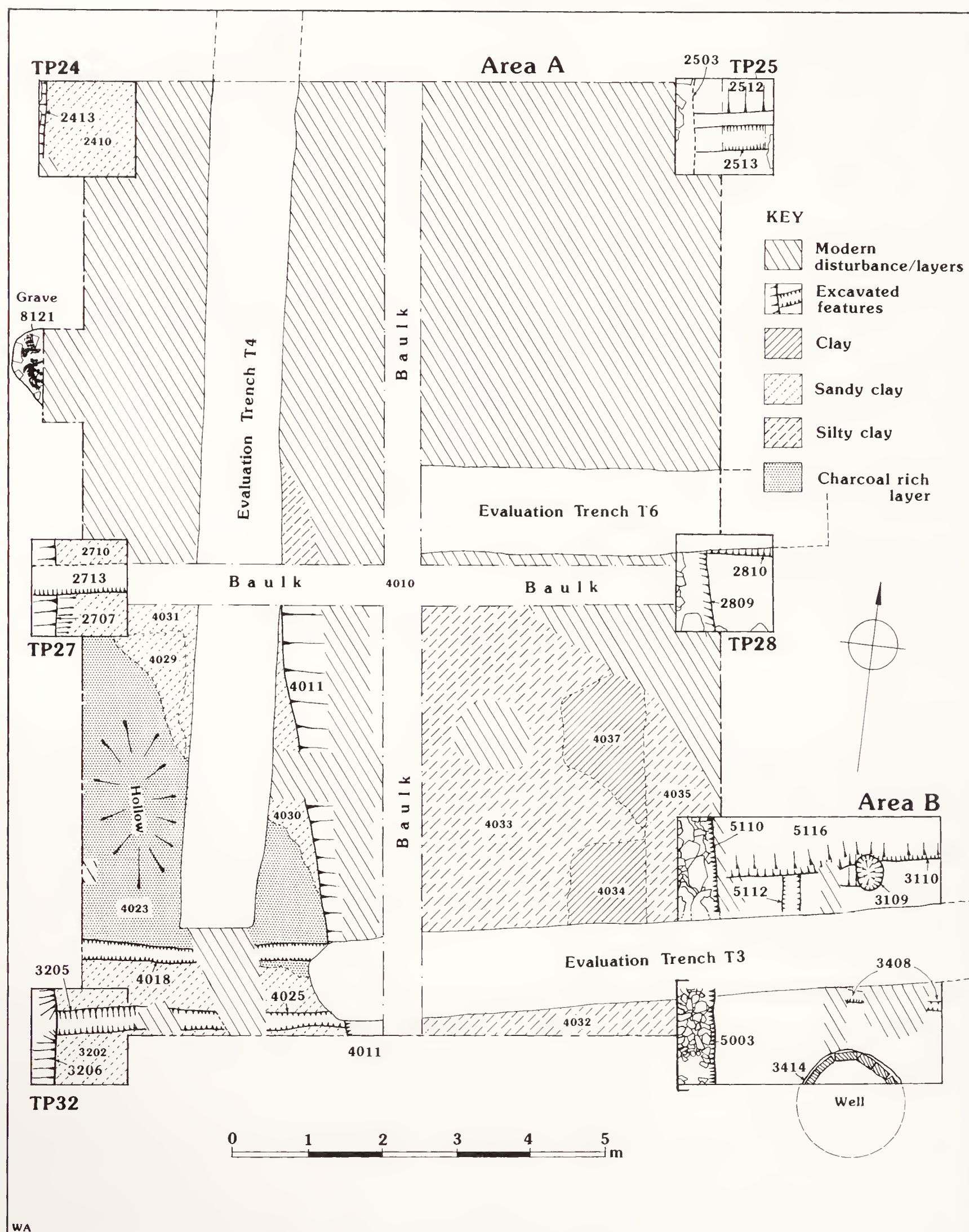


Fig. 4. Detailed plan of Areas A and B. Test pits 30–31 and 33–34 were incorporated within Area B.

predictions concerning the chronological framework compared to earlier work within Castleford cannot be made. At Bradley Street at least five phases are represented: (i) prehistoric (ii) early Roman; (iii) later Roman; (iv) Anglian and (v) medieval. Detailed

accounts are not presented here for the post-medieval or modern features, which were predominantly disturbances resulting from the iron foundry, but they are described where they are relevant to the interpretation of the earlier remains. In general these later disturbances had totally destroyed any earlier deposits which might have existed. A summary of the recent history of the site is given in Appendix 1, while full details of the fieldwork are available in the project archive.

(i) *Prehistoric*

No features or deposits recorded were identified as being of prehistoric date, with only a small amount of worked flint from residual contexts being recovered.

(ii) *Early Roman (first to second centuries)*

Structural evidence for this phase consisted of a series of narrow vertical-sided gullies or 'beam slots' aligned both east-west and north-south (Figs 3–4), which were recorded in the south-west corner of the site. Seven separate sections of gully were identified in an area 10 by 12 m, the longest two of which (4018 and 4025) ran east-west in the south of Area A, with 4025 also being identified in test pit 32 (as 3205). The eastern lengths of these beam slots had been removed almost completely by Evaluation Trench T3. Parallel to, and to the north of, the beam slot recorded in test pit 25 (2513) was the southern edge of a shallow ditch (ditch 2512), probably serving as an associated drain.

Within the area defined by the beam-slots, and between test pits 27 and 32 lay a shallow depression whose base had been affected by heat. It was filled with a substantial deposit of charcoal (4023) which was sealed by a mixed layer of charcoal and dark brown clayey loam lenses (4012). The uppermost layer contained a piece of copper alloy waste, as well as a single sherd of a crucible. Stratigraphically, beam slot 4018 appeared to cut the south edge of the charcoal layer, although the charcoal spread appeared to respect the line of the beam slot for most of its length.

Probably contemporary with these buildings, substantial quantities of material were deposited to the north of a 0.72 m drop in the old ground level as it neared the River Aire. This drop may be an old river terrace or other scarp, which was identified during the evaluation as F31 in Trench T4. Sections through these deposits were recorded in test pits 2, 10 and 17, and soil columns were taken to characterise the depositional processes involved (see below). In test pit 2 the deposits contained undiagnostic Romano-British pottery and fragments of *imbrices*, as well as a sherd of first or early second-century AD samian. The deposits in test pit 10 produced substantial quantities of Romano-British material, including sherds of an early Flavian form 29 samian bowl. The deposits in test pit 17 contained undiagnostic Romano-British pottery and tile fragments as well as two sherds of a form 37 samian bowl of Hadrianic or early Antonine date.

To the east a number of north-south aligned ditches were recorded, both during the evaluation, excavation and watching brief. The various elements from each area are summarised below as Ditches A-F (Table 1 and Fig. 5) but the difficulty in correlating sections/profiles on different alignments and recorded under different circumstances (evaluation, watching brief, etc.) should be emphasised. Regrettably, very little dating evidence was recovered from these ditches. A sherd of second-century samian and a fragment of possible box flue tile came from the upper fill of Ditch B, together with undiagnostic Romano-British and medieval material from several test pits in the area.

Although the identification of Ditches A and B from the various areas of examination can be considered reasonably secure, identification is not so reliable for Ditches C-F. The identification of Ditch E relies on the similarity in profiles between ditch 8023 (Area E) and ditch Fo2 (Evaluation Trench T1), both of which have features of a different date

TABLE 1: Correlation of all ditches identified in the eastern half of the site

| Source | Ditch A | Ditch B | Ditch C | Ditch D | Ditch E | Ditch F |
|--------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Eval. Tr. T ₁ | F ₄₀ | F ₁₇ | | | F ₀₂ | F ₄₄ |
| Eval. Tr. T ₂ | | F ₁₀ | | | | |
| Area B, TP ₆ | layer 617 | | | | | |
| Area B, TP ₁₆ | | layer 1616 | | | | |
| Area B, TP ₂₂ | ditch 2221 | | | | | |
| Area B, TP ₂₃ | | layer 2305-08 | | | | |
| Area D | | ditch 4530 | ditch 4529 | ditch 4531 | | |
| Area E | ditch 8042 | ditch 8067 (+ recut 8040) | | | ditch 8023 | ditch 8014 |

(Ditch F — 8014 and F₄₄ respectively) immediately to the east. Without further work, differing alignments for the features are possible.

From this evidence, it is not possible to positively identify the eastern defences for the first-century annexe to the fort. On the assumption that the east and west sides of the annexe were symmetrically opposed, and that the feature identified to the south in a separate evaluation in Bradley Street in February 1991⁶ represents part of the eastern defences to the fort, then the annexe defences at Bradley Street are most probably Ditches E and/or F, although they are very rounded in profile. If this assumption is correct, then Ditch C, and possibly (but less likely) Ditch D, could be seen as internal features within the annexe.

(iii) Later Roman (third to fourth centuries)

Structural evidence for this phase was again restricted to the south-west corner of the site area, with a north-south aligned stone-filled foundation trench at least 13 m long. This was recorded on the west sides of test pits 24 (ditch 2413), 27 (ditch 2707) and 32 (ditch 3206), and had cut through the western end of the earlier timber structure. The primary fill of the foundation in test pit 27 contained a single sherd of undiagnostic Romano-British coarseware. It was not possible to identify the building technique with certainty, but it seemed likely that clay-bonded Magnesian Limestone, possibly in a crude herring-bone style, formed the foundations. Some of the stones were burnt, which may suggest that they had been reused.

All other remains attributed to this phase appear to be related to the eastern defences of the late Roman settlement. Elsewhere in Castleford, these defences have been identified as comprising three broad parallel ditches, the innermost of which is subsequently replaced by a massive stone wall. The evidence at Bradley Street does not conflict with this sequence.

The innermost ditch was represented in Area A by the west edge of 4011, a large north-south aligned ditch cutting through layers associated with the earlier timber structure noted above. The eastern side of this ditch had been recut by the foundation trench for a large stone wall (see below). The surviving edge of this feature was 1.4 m wide, the full width probably in the region of 4-5 m, with a depth of up to 1.4 m based on the section recorded through F11 (Evaluation Trench T₃). The upper fill (layer 4010) was a greyish brown compact clay containing a single sherd of amphora dated to the first to early third century. The west edge of this ditch had been further disturbed by feature

⁶ WYAS *op. cit.* in n. 1, fig. 1.

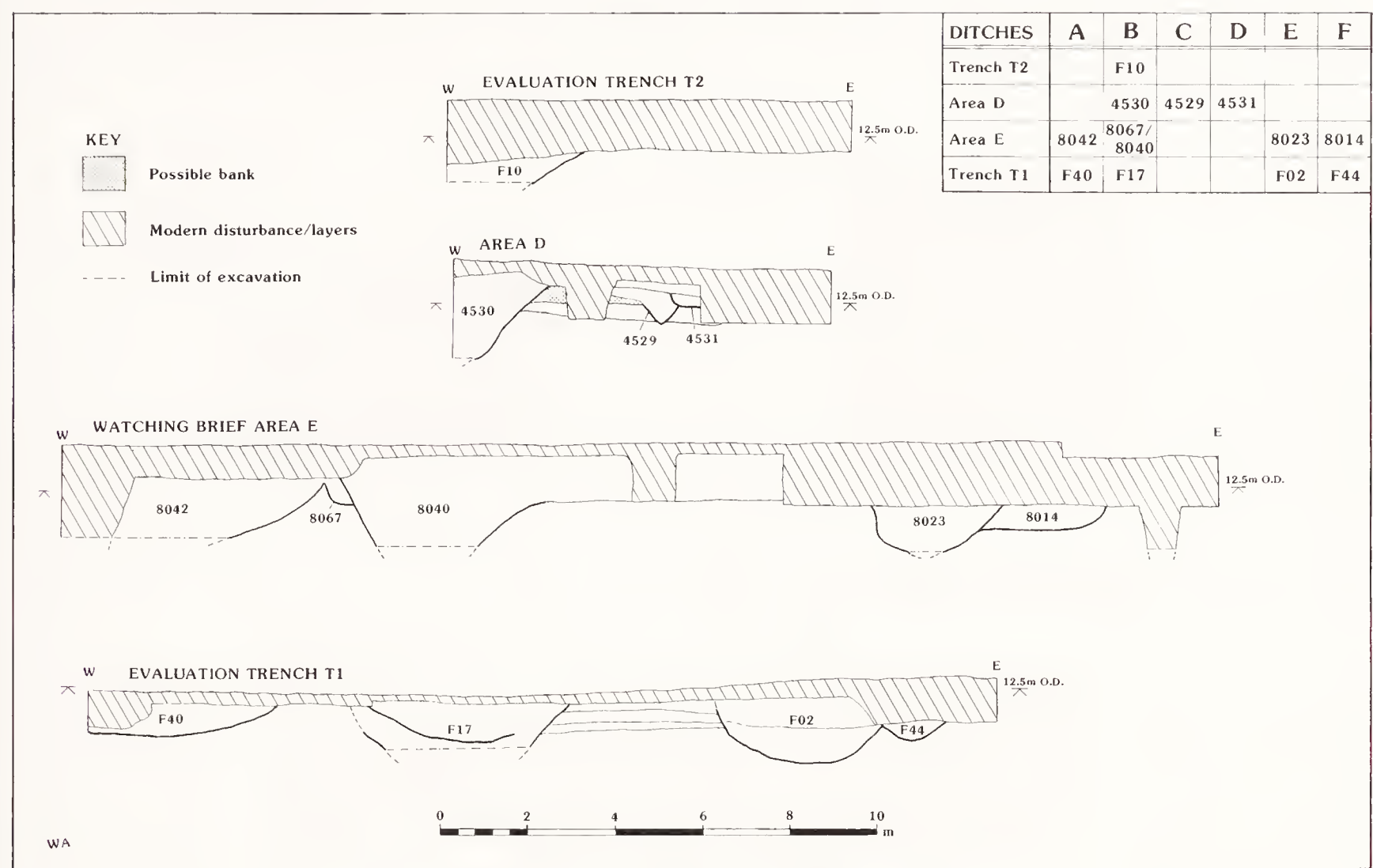


Fig. 5. South-facing profiles of Ditches A-F in Evaluation Trench T2, Area D, Area E and Evaluation Trench T1. Evaluation Trench T2 and Areas D and E have been compressed to illustrate the profiles of the principal ditches. Simplified details of the stratigraphy are shown only where they indicate the sequence of the ditches.

4004, a modern pipe trench. Although not identified during the evaluation, its presence is suggested in the photographs taken at the time.

To the east, Ditch A (Table 1, Fig. 5) is interpreted as the outer ditch forming part of the late Roman defences, although the same difficulties of identification as with the earlier annexe defences apply. This ditch was a broad shallow feature, at least 4 m wide and 1 m deep and filled with a primary deposit of blue-grey clay overlain by a mottled brown sandy clay loam.

The only complete section through the large stone wall foundation trench overlying the inner ditch in Area A was recorded in Evaluation Trench T3 in a machine-cut section (F11, Fig. 6). This demonstrated the feature to be *c.* 3.5 m wide, deepening progressively from 0.7 m on the eastern side to 1 m on the western side. The fill was a mixture of Magnesian Limestone and pure yellow-grey clay, whose relative proportions varied across the width of the trench. There were some indications of layers of a slightly different clay-like material being associated with the easternmost courses of stone, and the bonding material towards the west of the trench was rather whiter in colour. The main components of the deeper western side of the trench were large irregular limestone blocks in rough layers set within a clay matrix. The shallower eastern half consisted of small, tabular/platey pieces of limestone, laid in 'herring-bone' style horizontal layers interleaved with stiff clay. It is possible that the stones represent the foundations for an earthen rampart, but in view of what is known elsewhere in Castleford, it seems more likely that they are the foundations for a stone wall.

Although not originally recorded as such, it would appear possible that this foundation

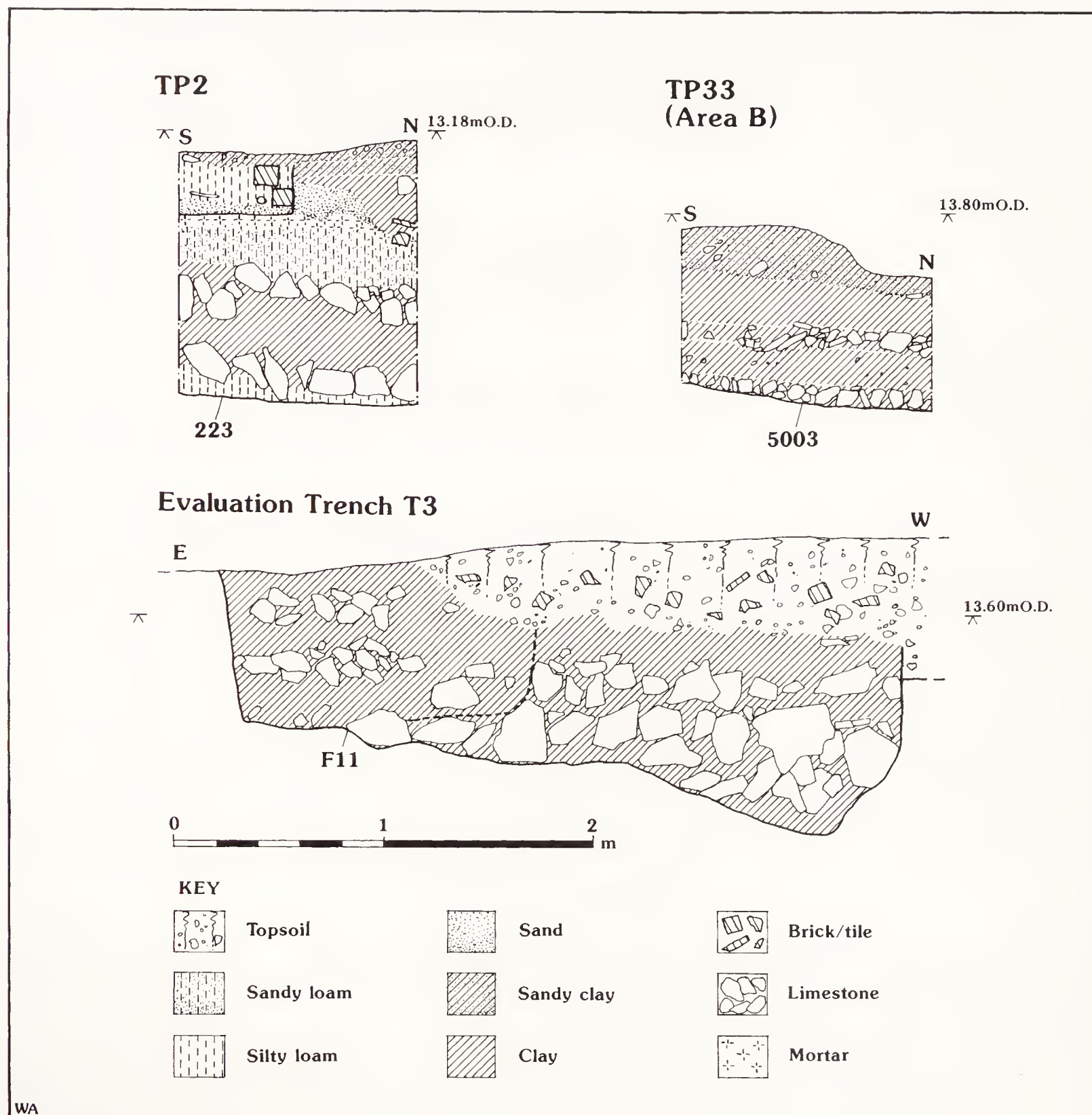


Fig. 6. Sections through the wall foundation in Evaluation Trench T3, test pit 2 and test pit 33 (incorporated in south-west corner of Area B).

trench was comprised of two features, corresponding to the differing fills noted above, and that the eastern side represents a later widening of a wall originally *c.* 2–2.5 m wide. The west edge of the cut for this putative later widening is indicated as a dashed line on the section illustrated (Fig. 6). Other than undiagnostic Romano-British pottery, dating evidence for this feature comprised a single sherd of fourth-century material recovered from a layer cut by this feature in Trench T5.

During the excavation, the very eastern edge of the wall was identified and examined in test pits 2, 25 and 28, and Area B, indicating a depth of at least 0.55 m. As revealed in the Evaluation Trench T3, the foundation material on the eastern side was composed of layers of platey limestone slabs set in a matrix of yellow-grey clay. The *in-situ* deposits consisted of at least two layers of stone, the courses laid in alternate directions, giving a herring-bone appearance. The upper fill of this feature was an uneven mixture of rubble and sticky yellow clay, visible on the surface of Area A (layer 4037) as a soil change at

least 2 m wide following the eastern edge of the feature. It is most likely that this deposit represents the fill of a robber trench, perhaps excavated to remove any dressed facing stones.

(ii–iii) Romano-British

The following features, although identified as Romano-British, could not be ascribed to either the early or later phase.

An isolated and undated section of east-west aligned ditch (Area B; ditch 5116) was recorded in the north of the lift shaft sump. It cut across an earlier beam-slot, but was itself cut by the later large stone wall, indicating that it was Romano-British in date.

In test pit 35, Feature 3505 (Fig. 3) was aligned north-south and had a stepped base. It was at least 0.35 m wide, 0.14 m deep in the south and 0.25 m deep in the north, and contained several sherds of undiagnostic Romano-British pottery from a layer which appeared to both seal (layer 3505) and fill it (fill 3504). Next to the step in the base of 3505 and cut into its western edge was a small slot aligned east-west (3506), *c.* 0.2 m long, 0.08 m wide and 0.15 m deep, which contained a small piece of waterlogged wood.

(iv) Anglian

An undated human crouched burial (skeleton 8120) was recorded between test pits 24 and 27 in grave cut 8121 (Figs 4 and 7). The grave had vertical sides and a flat base, and may have been lined with sandstone blocks. The burial was badly damaged by the mechanical excavator which removed *c.* 60% of the skeleton. The body had been placed on its right side, with its head to the south. Although a small piece of copper alloy strip or sheet was found in the grave, it may have been introduced in the grave fill. The east-facing section of the trench through this burial indicated that the grave was later than the later Roman stone wall in test pits 24, 27 and 32. It seems likely, therefore, that the burial is post-Roman in date, and probably Anglian.

(v) Medieval

Ditch B was a steep-sided feature, *c.* 4–5 m wide and at least 2 m deep (Fig. 5). Although second-century samian pottery was recovered from the machined spoil excavated from this feature (Area D; ditch 4530; fill 4522), it is dated to the medieval period on the basis of several sherds of twelfth- to fourteenth-century pottery hand-excavated from ditch fills identified in test pits 16 (layer 1616) and 23 (layers 2305 and 2307). The earliest fills observed were blue-grey clays, overlain by brownish silty clay loams, with two recorded sections indicating that the feature had been recut at least once (Area E; ditch 8040: Evaluation Trench T1; F17 — where the recut was not identified separately). It may be that the medieval pottery derives from the recut of an earlier Roman ditch but this cannot be demonstrated on the evidence presently available.

Unphased

A very large feature (F49) provisionally interpreted as a Romano-British inlet or ditch aligned north-south was recorded in Evaluation Trench T5. This appeared to be at least 14.5 m wide and over 3 m deep, but could not be subsequently identified as a feature continuing across the southern half of the site. Health and Safety considerations prevented detailed investigation of the sections of the feature, but it was possible to recover a single piece of possible Roman tile from the lower fill of grey-brown silty clay loam. Sherds of twelfth/thirteenth-century medieval pottery were also recovered from the upper part of this fill.

Although it is possible that this represents a modern feature associated with the foundry

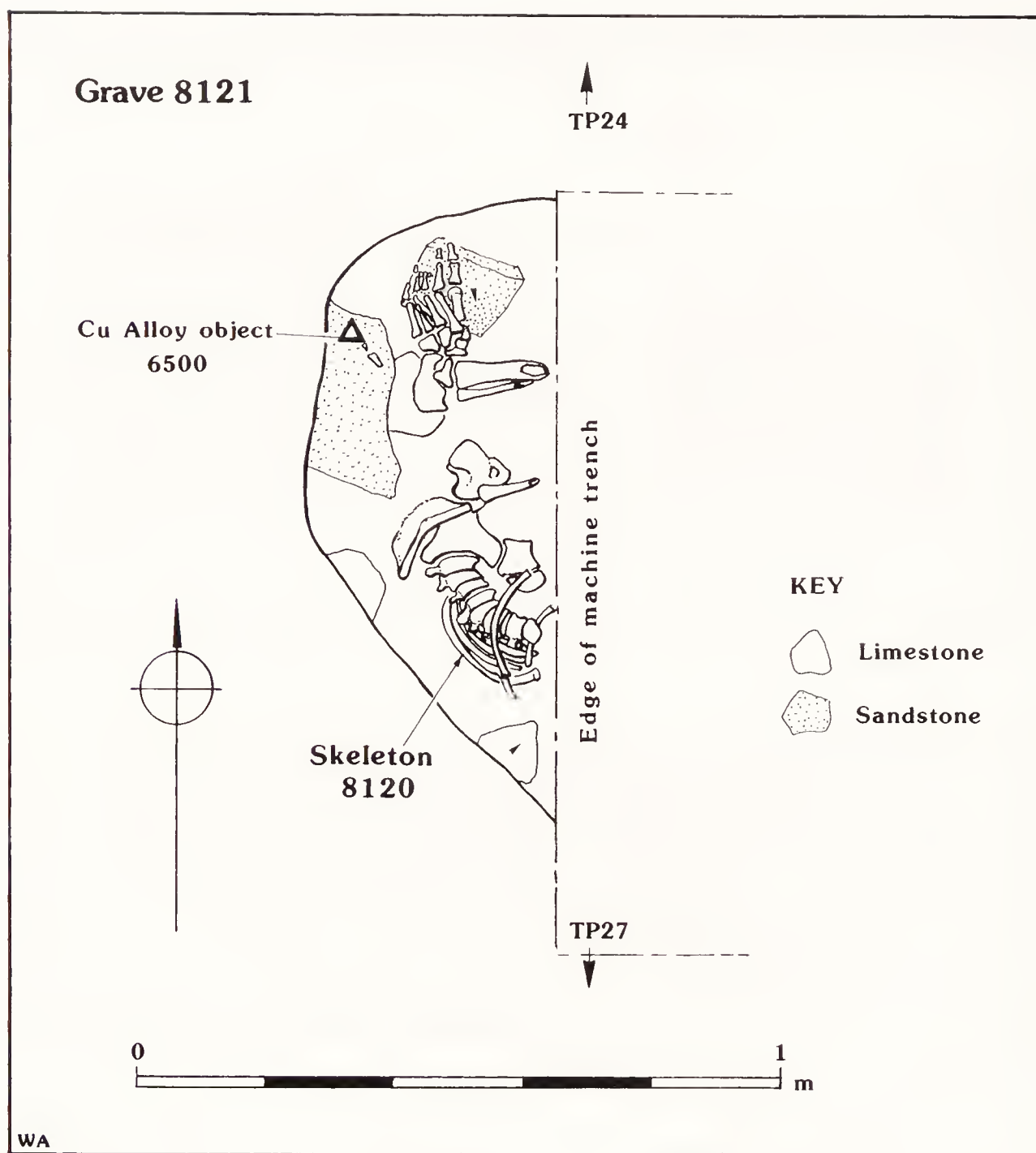


Fig. 7. Plan of the truncated grave 8121.

(e.g. a casting pit), as a ditch its alignment may be closer to an east-west orientation. As such, it could represent the return of one of the major ditches to the east of Bradley Street, for instance Ditch B which also contained medieval pottery.

A further feature (2906) in test pit 29 was at least 0.8 m wide and 0.2 m deep, and aligned approximately south-east to north-west. This had been almost completely removed by modern disturbance, and did not contain any dating evidence.

THE FINDS

THE METALWORK

by Rachael Seager Smith

A short curved strip of sheet metal (Object 6500), 13 mm long, 1 mm thick and 10 mm wide, was found in 8122, the fill of the Anglian grave. It was not possible to identify this piece more closely. In addition, an irregularly-shaped, sub-rectangular fragment (31 g) of lead/lead alloy (Object 6005) was recovered from test pit 10, layer 1004, found in association with samian of Flavian date.

THE METALWORKING DEBRIS

by G. McDonnell

Only slags and diagnostic fragments from objects of clay from Romano-British contexts are reported in detail here, but a further seven small pieces or droplets of copper alloy which may derive from metalworking were also found. Details of pieces associated with the Providence Iron Foundry are held in the archive. Some pieces were subjected to X-Ray Fluorescence analysis (XRF).

Area A, 4017. Copper, Zinc and Lead were detected by XRF from the interior of a crucible fragment (Object 6012, Fig. 8 (12)). It was therefore used for melting typical Roman copper alloys, i.e. leaded gunmetals (leaded) bronzes or (leaded) brasses.

Test pit 17, 1709. One fragment (5 g) of fuel ash slag or cinder. It is non-diagnostic, XRF did not detect any non-ferrous metals suggesting that it derives either from ironworking, other technologies or domestic/accidental fires.

Area A, 4024. 19 fragments (42 g) of fuel ash slag or cinder recovered from Sample 7008. See test pit 17, 1709.

Although these fragments of slag and crucible might represent a background level of finds indicating that non-ferrous, and possibly ferrous, metalworking was being carried out in the vicinity, the association of the material in Area A with large quantities of charcoal suggests that metalworking was undertaken on site. There is substantial evidence for this activity from other Castleford sites.

THE GLASS

by D. A. Allen

Two pieces (4 g) of possible Roman glass were examined. The first, from dumping layer 1709, is a fragment of blue-green glass with some bubbles within the metal, almost certainly from just below the shoulder of a cylindrical bottle. It has vertical usage scratches on the outer surface, particularly in two rubbed bands, one where the profile bulges slightly, which are characteristic of these vessels and were presumably caused by storage in compartmented wooden crates.⁷ This type was extremely common throughout the second half of the first century, going out of use during the second quarter of the second century AD.

The second fragment, of colourless glass from 2501, now slightly cloudy and opaque with dulled surfaces, is quite likely to be of Roman date but closer identification is impossible. It was, however, found in a modern layer (2501).

THE POTTERY

by Rachael Seager Smith

A total of 75 sherds of pottery weighing 1070 g was recovered. This comprises 44 sherds (732 g) of Romano-British pottery, four (16 g) of which were found during the watching brief, seven sherds (58 g) of samian and 24 sherds (280 g) of medieval pottery.

The samian is commented upon separately below, while the remaining pottery was analysed according to the standard Wessex Archaeology guidelines for the analysis of pottery.⁸ Fabrics were examined using a x20 binocular microscope and divided into separate fabric types on the basis of predominant inclusion types. The terms used to indicate the density of inclusions can be defined as follows: rare 1–3%, sparse 3–7%, moderate 10–20%, common 20%+. The pottery was quantified by number and weight

⁷ G. C. Boon, 'Roman Glass in Wales', *Annales du 4^e Congrès de l'Association Internationales pour l'Histoire du Verre* (Brussels 1967), p. 95.

⁸ E. L. Morris, *The Analysis of Pottery*, (Salisbury, unpubl. Wessex Archaeology Guidelines 4, 1992).

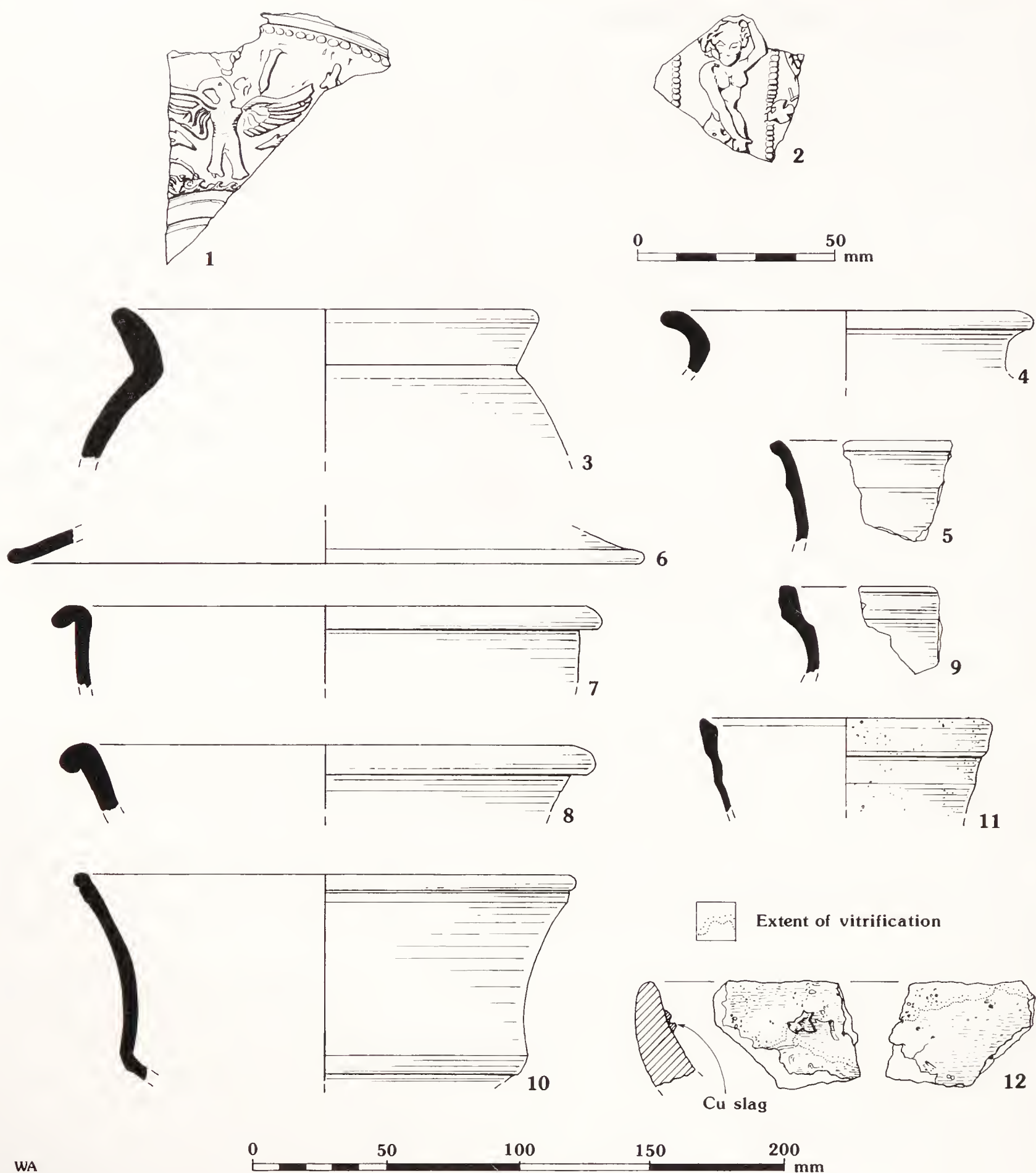


Fig. 8. Finds from Bradley Street, 1-10 Roman, 11 medieval, 12 Roman crucible.

of sherds and fabric type for each context. This information is summarised in Table 2. Details of rim types, surface treatment, decoration and manufacturing technique were also recorded. The pottery is discussed by chronological period below while full details can be found in the archive.

Roman-British pottery

- E101 Black Burnished ware from the Wareham/Poole Harbour region of Dorset.
- E175 Nene Valley colour-coated ware.
- E256 Dressel 20 amphora from southern Spain.

TABLE 2: Quantification of pottery recovered by fabric (number/weight in g)

| Context | Samian | Romano-British | | | | | | | | | | | | Medieval | |
|---------|--------|----------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------|------|------|------|----------|------|
| | | E101 | E175 | E256 | I100 | M100 | M101 | Q100 | Q101 | Q102 | Q103 | Q104 | Q105 | Q400 | Q401 |
| 224 | 1/14 | 1/43 | | | | | | 1/62 | 1/28 | | | | | | |
| 302 | | | | | | | | | | 4/104 | | | | 14/121 | 2/8 |
| 618 | | | | | | | | | | 1/3 | | | | | |
| 900 | | | | | | | | | | | 1/11 | | | | |
| 905 | | | | | | | | | | 2/50 | | | | 1/17 | 1/4 |
| 1004 | 2/18 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1005 | | 1/4 | | | | | | | | 3/21 | | | | | |
| 1012 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1/30 | | | |
| 1013 | | 1/7 | | | 1/1 | 1/2 | | | | 1/6 | | | | | |
| 1616 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1/54 | |
| 1709 | 2/5 | | | | | | | | | 3/45 | | | | | |
| 1710 | | | | | | | | | | 1/47 | | | | | |
| 2303 | 1/7 | | | | | 1/4 | | 1/6 | | | | | | | |
| 2305 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3/40 | |
| 2307 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1/21 | |
| 2501 | | | 1/3 | 1/20 | | | | | | 1/9 | | | | | |
| 2514 | | | | | | | | | | 1/4 | | | | | |
| 2708 | | | | | | | | | | 2/17 | | | | | |
| 2709 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1/15 |
| 2712 | | | | | | | | 1/21 | | | | | | | |
| 2806 | | | | | | | | | | 1/30 | | | | | |
| 2808 | | | | | | | | | | 1/9 | | | | | |
| 3503 | | | | | | | | | | 1/26 | | | | | |
| 3504 | | | | | | | | | | 2/4 | | | | | |
| 4010 | | | | 1/31 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4017 | | | | | | | 2/62 | | | | | | | | |
| 4507 | | | | | | | | | | 1/6 | | | | | |
| 4522 | 1/14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8124 | | | | | | | | | | | | | 3/10 | | |
| 8137 | | 1/6 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 7/58 | 4/60 | 1/3 | 2/51 | 1/1 | 2/6 | 2/62 | 3/89 | 1/28 | 25/381 | 1/11 | 1/30 | 3/10 | 20/253 | 4/27 |

- I 100Orange coarseware with iron oxides and mica; very hard, fine-grained, oxidised fabric containing sparse red iron oxides (<2 mm) and mica (<0.25 mm) and very occasional quartz grains (<0.25 mm).
- M 100Micaceous buff coarseware; soft, fine-grained fabric containing sparse mica (<0.25 mm) and rare amounts of quartz and iron oxides (<0.5 mm).
- M 101Slightly sandy, micaceous buff coarseware; hard, smooth fabric with sparse mica (<0.25 mm) and rare quartz (<0.75 mm) and iron oxides (<0.25 mm) in a very fine-grained sandy matrix.
- Q 100Gritty orange coarseware; hard, coarse fabric with moderate amounts of quartz (0.25–1 mm) which often protrude through the surface of the fabric, and sparse mica (<0.25 mm).
- Q 101Very hard orange coarse ware; dense fabric with a harsh texture, contains sparse amounts of quartz (<0.5 mm) and mica (<0.25 mm) and rare iron oxides and soft, white, non-calcareous particles. Very faint traces of a white slip on exterior surface.
- Q 102Sandy grey coarsewares; group of fabrics of variable texture, hardness and grain-size but all containing moderate to common amounts of quartz sand as the dominant inclusion type. Sources unknown but probably local.
- Q 103Calcareous sandy grey ware; hard, moderately fine-grained fabric containing moderate amounts of quartz (<0.5 mm), sparse soft, white calcareous particles (0.25–1 mm) and rare black iron oxides (<1 mm).

- Q104 White, sandy mortarium fabric; hard, coarse-grained fabric containing common amounts of rounded translucent quartz (<0.75 mm) and rare red iron oxides (<0.5 mm).
- Q105 Very hard, bright orange fineware. Very fine-grained sandy fabric with red iron oxides and soft white, non-calcareous particles (all <0.25 mm).

THE SAMIAN

by B. M. Dickinson

Test pit 2, 224, one sherd (14 g) of a dish footring (probably form 15/17R or 18R), South Gaulish. Flavian or Flavian-Trajanic.

Test pit 10, 1004, two joining sherds (18 g) of form 29, South Gaulish (Fig. 8 (1)). Part of the lower zone, with an eagle (probably the complete version of Hermet),⁹ below a mask or cup. Two tendrils are visible, each ending in an elongated, heart-shaped leaf. One is probably attached to the bead-row below the central cordon; the other springs from one of a row of rosettes at the bottom of the decoration and is almost certainly balanced by another to the right of the eagle. Above the eagle's left wing is a slightly curved motif, perhaps a frond. In the absence of parallels for the decoration the only dating evidence comes from the fabric and glaze, which suggests range c. AD 65–80.

Test pit 17, 1709, two sherds (5 g) of form 37, Central Gaulish. Hadrianic or early-Antonine.

Test pit 23, 2303, one sherd (7 g) of form 37, Central Gaulish (Fig. 8 (2)), in the style of Attianus II of Lezoux, c. AD 125–45.

Area D, 4522, one sherd (14 g) of form 33, slightly burnt, Central Gaulish. Antonine.

Other Roman pottery

The Romano-British pottery represents the standardised range of sandy greywares and orange/buff coarsewares together with small quantities of fineware, amphorae and mortaria found at Romano-British sites throughout Britain. In general, the condition of the assemblage is good, with a high mean sherd weight (c. 16.6 g) and few sherds showing severe abrasion, but comparatively few featured sherds are present (Fig. 8 (3–11)).

The sandy greywares (Fabric Q102) dominate the assemblage, accounting for over half the total number of sherds recovered. The majority of these sherds are wheel-made. The rim forms indicate a later first to late second-/early third-century AD date for the assemblage and include thickened, upright rim jars (Fig. 8 (3)), slightly everted rim jars (Fig. 8 (4)), straight-sided dishes (Fig. 8 (5)), flat-flanged bowls/dishes (Fig. 8 (7–8)) and flagons (Fig. 8(9)). All these forms can be broadly paralleled in a variety of fabrics in assemblages of similar date in York.¹⁰ Dorset Black Burnished ware (Fabric E101), which reached northern military sites after AD 120,¹¹ is represented by four sherds, two from straight-sided bowl/dish forms from Romano-British occupation surface/dumping layers (224 and 8137), an unidentifiable body from dumping layer 1005 and the shoulder of a jar from a Romano-British occupation surface/dumping layer (1013). This latter sherd occurs with a piece of the shoulder of a rusticated jar (Fabric Q102) and a small unidentifiable sherd of micaceous buff coarseware (Fabric M100). Rusticated vessels, a continental form popular with the army, were made in Britain between AD 50 and 120, although after AD 70 their production and distribution tended to be confined to the northern garrisons until

⁹ F. Hermet, *La Graufesenque (Condatomago)* (Paris 1934), pl. 28, 11.

¹⁰ J. R. Perrin, *Roman Pottery from the Colonia: 2* (London, Archaeol of York/The pottery 16/4, 1990).

¹¹ J. P. Gillam, 'Coarse fumed ware in northern Britain and beyond', *Glasgow Archaeol J* 4 (1976), 58–80, p. 58.

it was superseded in these areas by Black Burnished ware.¹² However, in some areas, e.g. Cantley near Doncaster and in East Anglia, manufacture of rusticated vessels continued into the later second to early third centuries AD.¹³ The association of these sherds might suggest the production of the rusticated sherd, and probably many of the other greyware sherds, somewhere in the vicinity of Doncaster, during the second to third century AD.

The majority of orange and buff coarseware sherds are wheel-made and mostly derived from flagon forms. Exceptions to this include a lid (Fig. 8 (6)) in a gritty orange fabric (Fabric Q100) and two joining sherds from a long-necked, carinated bowl (Fig. 8 (10)) in the slightly sandy, micaceous buff fabric (Fabric M101). This vessel was found in the Romano-British occupation/dumping layer in Area A (4017) and its form can be paralleled by a vessel in 'Eboracum' ware from a Period 3 (later second century AD) deposit on the General Accident site in York.¹⁴

Sherds of Dressel 20 amphorae, produced in southern Spain and used to transport olive oil,¹⁵ were found in a modern layer (2501) in test pit 25, and in ditch 4011. Nene Valley colour-coated wares occur in small quantities in deposits dating from the second century AD onwards at York,¹⁶ and the rouletted sherd from a modern layer (2501) in test pit 25, is probably from a beaker, produced throughout the life of this industry. Three joining sherds in an unprovenanced, wheel-made, fineware fabric (Fabric Q105) also probably from a beaker were found in dumping layer/occupation surface 8124 during the watching brief. The provenance of the mortarium sherd (Fabric Q104) from dumping layer/occupation surface 1012 is uncertain, but is likely to be of fairly local manufacture.

Medieval pottery

Q400 Gritty ware; very hard fabric with sparse to moderate amounts of quartz (0.5–2 mm), often protruding through the surface, sparse mica (<0.25 mm) and red and black iron oxides (0.5–3 mm) and rare soft, white, non-calcareous particles. Buff to dark greyish-brown in colour.

Q401 Sandy fabric; hard, fine-grained fabric containing common quartz, rare to sparse iron oxides and rare soft, white, non-calcareous particles (all <0.5 mm). Pale orange to brown with a light grey core.

Both of these fabrics date from the later twelfth to fourteenth centuries AD and are typical of the range of medieval wares recognised at other sites in the region such as Sandal Castle, Cowick and Doncaster.¹⁷ Although not specifically identifiable, the source of both fabrics is probably local (within 20–30 km) and the gritty fabric (Q400) may be considered part of the geographically extensive and long-lived Northern Gritty ware tradition. Few featured sherds were present and none of the sherds were decorated or preserved any traces of glaze. The majority of sherds appear to derive from cooking pots with flat or slightly sagging bases while the one rim sherd, (Fig. 8 (11)) which is broadly similar to vessels from Sandal Castle,¹⁸ is from a jug.

¹² V. G. Swan, *Pottery in Roman Britain* (Aylesbury 1978), p. 14

¹³ Swan, *ibid.*

¹⁴ Perrin, *op. cit.* in n. 10, fig. 113, 1217.

¹⁵ D. P. S. Peacock and D. F. Williams, *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: an Introductory Guide* (Harlow 1986), pp. 136–40.

¹⁶ Perrin, *op. cit.* in n. 10.

¹⁷ M. R. McCarthy and C. M. Brooks, *Medieval Pottery in Britain AD 900–1600* (Leicester 1988), pp. 243–48, fig. 250.

¹⁸ McCarthy and Brooks, *op. cit.* in n. 17, fig. 250, 1778–89.

THE WORKED STONE

by Rachael Seager Smith

Seven fragments of worked stone were found. All of the objects are highly fragmentary and not intrinsically datable, although all but one occurred in association with other material of Roman date.

Four of the worked stone fragments occur in a very fine to fine-grained micaceous sandstone, (probably Permian series). These include a possible whetstone fragment and a quern fragment, found in dumping layer (1709). A flat fragment, probably originally diamond-shaped, with parts of two original edges and one roughly smoothed surface surviving, was found in the possible ditch fill 2303. These three objects were found with other Romano-British material. The fourth fragment, a very small piece with one flat, smooth, highly polished surface, although found in the modern pit 4015, together with post-medieval pottery and slag, would not be out of place amongst the Roman material.

The presence of substantial buildings of considerable status within the vicinity is suggested by a possible architectural fragment from a moulding and two *tesserae*. The possible architectural fragment (which could, of course, be medieval) was found in a modern layer (511) within test pit 5, and is badly weathered, occurring in an hard, off-white, slightly vesicular, fine-grained limestone. The *tesserae*, both in a hard, black, fine-grained igneous material, possibly basalt, were found in the dumping layer 1710 in test pit 17. A likely source for these pieces would be the bath-house to the west.

Four fragments of burnt unfaced stone were also recovered, including three small fragments of chalk found in layer 2708. The nearest source of chalk lies in a band 30–50 km wide to the north and south of the Humber estuary, roughly from Bridlington to Skegness.

THE WORKED FLINT

by Julie Gardiner

Three pieces of worked flint were recovered. These comprise a broken flake or blade-like flake from layer 1005 test pit 10, and another broken flake, possibly retouched at one end, from Area A, layer 4000. A tentatively identified core, although possibly naturally fractured, was found in Area A, layer 4003, and is covered in iron-staining deposits. No date range beyond the prehistoric can be indicated for these pieces.

THE HUMAN BONE

by Jacqueline I. McKinley

The single crouched inhumation 8120 was found with its head to the south, lying on its right hand side, sealed by fill 8122 within grave cut 8121.

Age was assessed from the degree of epiphyseal fusion and the general degree of degenerative changes to the bone.¹⁹ Sex was assessed from the sexually dimorphic traits of the skeleton.²⁰ Measures were taken according to Bass.²¹ The platycnemic index was calculated (metrical data are held in the archive). Stature was estimated using Trotter and Gleser's regression equations.²² Pathological lesions and morphological variations/

¹⁹ R. M. H. McMinn and R. T. Hutchings, *A Colour Atlas of Human Anatomy* (London 1985); P. A. O. Webb and J. M. Suchy, 'Epiphyseal union of the anterior iliac crest and medial clavicle in a modern multiracial sample of American males and females', *Am J Phys Anth* 68 (1985), 457–66.

²⁰ W. M. Bass, *Human Osteology* (Missouri Archaeological Society 1987).

²¹ Bass, *ibid.*

²² M. Trotter and G. C. Gleser, 'Estimation of stature from long bones of American whites and Negroes', *Am J Phys Anth* 10 (1952), 463–514; *idem* 'A re-evaluation of estimation of stature based on measurements of stature taken during life and of long bones after death', *Am J Phys Anth* 16 (1957), 79–123.

TABLE 3: Identification and pathology for skeleton 8120

| | | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Age | younger mature adult (25–30 years) | |
| Sex | male | |
| Pathology | Schmorl's nodes | thoracic, lumbar |
| | anterior vertebral body collapse | 1st lumbar |
| | disrupted vertebral body surface | 1 lumbar |
| | osteophytes | left navicular |
| | osteoarthritis | middle foot phalanx |
| | morphological variation | left talus, left 1st metatarsal |
| Estimated Stature | 167.28cm | |
| Platycnemic Index | 73.7 (eurycnemic) | |

non-metric traits were recorded, and diagnoses suggested where appropriate. Anatomical terminology used according to Gray²³ and McMinn and Hutchings.²⁴ All details of identification may be found in the archive report, including Skeletal Records Sheet of identified bones, Metrical Data Sheets, and detailed descriptions of bone morphology and pathology.

Brown staining was evident over much of the skeleton, which was possibly organic in origin. The bone was in good condition with c. 40% of the skeleton recovered including elements of the axial skeleton, and upper and lower limbs. The deceased was a younger mature adult male, aged 25–30 years (Table 3).

THE PLANT REMAINS

by P. Hinton

The flot from a single sample 7000 (ditch 3505, fill 3504, test pit 35) was scanned and found to contain the following charred seeds (the number in brackets indicates the quantity): Cereals; cf *Avena* sp. (oats) (1), *Avena/Bromus* sp. (oats or chess) (1), *Triticum* cf *spelta* (spelt) (2), *Triticum* sp. (wheat) (2), Indeterminate cereal fragments (3 + fragments), *Vicia* cf *tetrasperma/hirsuta* (smooth or hairy tare) (1), Wild Plants; *Anthemis cotula* L. (stinking mayweed) (1: possible only), *Polygonum persicaria/lapathifolium* (red shank or pale persicaria) (1).

The cereal grains are very damaged and eroded which, with the absence of any chaff, makes certain identification impossible. Possible bread wheat and spelts were tentatively identified but the oat grains are little more than fragments. Chess is suggested for one on account of the widening of the hilum area, but this could be due to distortion. The other seeds may be arable weeds. Tares and stinking mayweed also occur on other disturbed ground, the latter particularly on heavy clay soils. Both persicarias favour damp nutrient-rich soils and disturbed areas such as rubbish tips and pale persicaria is often found on river banks.

THE CHARCOAL

by Rowena Gale

The charcoal was examined to establish if the material associated with possible metal-working was from managed sources. The charcoal was initially examined using a × 20 hand lens and sorted into groups based on the anatomical features present on a freshly exposed transverse surface. Samples from each group were then pressure-fractured and

²³. H. Gray, *Anatomy* (New York 1977).
²⁴. McMinn and Hutchings, *op. cit.* in n. 19.

examined at magnifications of up to $\times 400$. Thin-sections of the waterlogged wood were examined using a transmitted light microscope.

Sample 7002, Layer 4023, Area A

58 fragments of *Quercus* sp. (oak) were identified, mainly sapwood, although some small fragments of heartwood were present. The bulk of the fragments appeared to arise from fairly fast-grown stem or branch wood. Seventy-four fragments of Pomoideae, including *Crataegus* sp. (hawthorn), *Malus* sp. (apple), *Pyrus* sp. (pear), and *Sorbus* spp. (rowan, white-beam and wild service tree) were identified. All the fragments recovered were derived from narrow branches or stems. Twelve fragments of *Acer* sp. (maple) were identified which, although from branches or stems, were not narrow enough to suggest that they were from coppiced sources. The annual rings are also narrow.

Sample 7001, fill 3507 in slot 3506, test pit 35

Two fragments of waterlogged wood, both identified as *Quercus* sp. (oak) sapwood, probably from a widish stem or branch.

Conclusion

The charred wood included a mixture of species and, although some heartwood was present, it was mainly roundwood. The oak and maple roundwood was probably several centimetres in diameter while that from the hawthorn/apple/pear/*Sorbus* group was relatively narrow. The high proportion of the latter suggests that it was unlikely to have been used for construction work.

Fuels for smelting furnaces require abundant supplies of wood (or preferably charcoal) of high thermal capacity. This was often supplied from coppiced woodland and frequently a single species, such as oak or ash, was used. The presence of heartwood in the charcoal examined indicated that some oak wood, at least, was not coppiced, although the diameter of the remainder did allow some possibility of the use of poles. However, the inclusion of other species suggests that the wood probably all arose from locally gathered wild wood sources. The relatively low proportion of oak suggests that the wood, if used as fuel, would have been more likely to have been gathered for use in a domestic hearth or perhaps, in this instance, for heating the furnace of the adjacent bath-house, where the temperature was not so critical.

THE SEDIMENTOLOGY

by Michael J. Allen

Three undisturbed soil monoliths (7003, 7005 and 7006) were taken during the excavation of the test pits to examine the processes involved in the formation of deposits on the north of the site, particularly to establish if the material was ditch fill, or deliberate dumping. The sedimentary sequences were described using standard pedological notation following Hodgson,²⁵ enabling basic interpretation of the deposition regime and potential for palaeo-environmental analysis to be made. Full details are retained in the archive.

The massive, mixed and unlaminated nature of all the deposits described is typical of deposits derived from extensive human occupation, albeit with an input of river alluvium. All sequences show a high degree of mixing; by physical processes (human) and biota (flora and fauna).

The speed of unit accretion cannot be determined by visual inspection. Nevertheless, the mixed nature does not preclude the possibility of some of these units being rapidly

²⁵ J. M. Hodgson, *Soil Survey Field Handbook*, (Harpenden, Soil Survey Technical Monogr 5, 1976).

dumped, but the pedofeatures and localised gleying suggest deposition more gradual than large single (or even multiple) events. The deposits have been severely affected by human action and none are typical of largely alluvial sequences.

DISCUSSION

Before turning to consider the results from the fieldwork, it is important to recognise the circumstances under which they were obtained. The evaluation was conducted using a mechanical excavator and the major, detailed, sections recorded through the defensive ditches were undertaken during a Watching Brief and are at an oblique angle to the other sections. No complete profile of any of the major ditches was hand excavated.

Where manual excavation was undertaken, excavation ceased at the formation level of the building and it was rarely possible to examine the full depth of stratigraphy. This may be illustrated with reference to Fig. 4. The sites of the piles for the building (the test pits) and the lift sump (Area B) were fully excavated to natural subsoil. The foundation level of the floor of the building was much shallower and only in the south-western sector of Area A were deposits of Romano-British fully excavated. In consequence less than 1% of the area of the site was excavated by hand, representing a smaller sample than that of the machine excavated evaluation trenches (c. 5%).

Assuming that the construction methods were accurate to the centimetre, the archaeological deposits will survive undamaged until such time as the site again becomes available for archaeological examination.

PREHISTORIC

Although previous work in Castleford has indicated possible neolithic activity in the area including a Peterborough bowl from nearby,²⁶ little, if any, evidence has been discovered for the presence of an Iron Age settlement preceding the founding of the first Roman fort.²⁷ The continuing absence of evidence for such a settlement suggests the fort was founded on an unoccupied site,²⁸ an image reflected in the results of this project. No prehistoric features could be identified, with only a few undiagnostic pieces of worked flint recovered to give any indication of prehistoric activity. The finds could be broadly contemporary with the earlier prehistoric pottery found nearby.

EARLY ROMAN

Previous excavations in the town have dated the establishment of a Roman fort at Castleford to the early 70s AD²⁹ and associated it with the campaigns of Cerealis. The military occupation appeared to have at least two phases, provisionally dated as c. AD 71–84 and c. AD 84–95, with some evidence being thought to indicate a short period of abandonment between these two phases.³⁰

The results of this project can add little to this outline, as few pieces of securely datable material were recovered. For the most part, the phased interpretation of the site is based on structural comparisons with previously excavated (and more closely dated) features.

²⁶ A. B. Sumpter, 'The *vicus* of the Roman fort at Castleford', in P. R. Wilson, R. F. J. Jones and D. M. Evans (eds), *Settlement and Society in the Roman North* (Bradford and Leeds 1984), 83–86, p. 83 and pers. comm.

²⁷ West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council, *In Search of Roman Castleford* (Wakefield 1984), pp. 4–5.

²⁸ Sumpter, *op. cit.* in n. 26, p. 83.

²⁹ WYMCC, *op. cit.* in n. 27, p. 17; P. Abramson, 'The search for Roman Castleford', *Curr Archaeol* 109 (1988), 43–48, p. 44.

³⁰ WYMCC, *op. cit.* in n. 27, p. 18.

References to an early (first) or later (second) fort can be assumed to refer to the general date ranges noted above.

The site and orientation of the earliest fort is not known with certainty. Its western defences are presumed to be to the west of the second fort rampart (Fig. 1) recorded at the Box Factory yard, suggesting that it shared the same orientation. Where its northern, southern and eastern defences lay is less certain. The earliest samian from the Bradley Street excavations is Flavian or Flavian-Trajanic (AD 69–117) in date and comes from dumped layers recorded in test pits 2 and 10 immediately to the north of the natural scarp or river terrace.

Excavations in 1977 at Rectory Street, to the west of the present site identified the north-west corner of the second fort.³¹ A bank and ditch, with several recuts evident, continued approximately northwards from this corner, and is interpreted as part of the western rampart for an annexe.³² This was supported by the discovery of subsequent structures, including a bath-house in 1978, within the area proposed for the annexe. The eastern defence of the fort has not as yet been positively identified, but investigations carried out to the south in 1991 provisionally observed it as running parallel and east of the present route of Bradley Street. Assuming the layout of the second fort annexe was essentially symmetrical it was anticipated that the eastern defences of the annexe would continue this line onwards to the river.³³

This would imply that at least one of the major north-south aligned ditches identified in Bradley Street are part of the eastern defences for the annexe. Unfortunately the absence of any securely stratified dating evidence from the machine cut sections across the ditches discovered hinders detailed interpretation, as does disturbance by recent building activity in the area. On the basis of alignments related to observations made in 1991, and the layout of the various ditches on the west side of the annexe, it would seem reasonable to suggest that one or both of the ditches identified as E and F indicate the line of the annexe ditch or ditches although both have very rounded profiles.

The stratigraphically earliest evidence for other activity in the area enclosed by the ditch(es) was the shallow depression containing charcoal and charcoal rich soil in the south-western corner of the site. Although substantial burnt deposits (charcoal, daub etc.) elsewhere in Castleford have been identified as destruction deposits relating to the abandonment of the early fort,³⁴ this is unlikely to be the case here. The presence of copper alloy waste and a fragment of crucible with cupreous residues in the deposits suggest that the most likely source of this material was metalworking. The discovery of small droplets of copper waste in what may be a contemporary refuse layer immediately to the north, as well as the presence of reused and heat-affected pieces of stonework in a later wall foundation trench, add further support.

Although the deposits of charcoal, and charcoal rich soil appear to have been cut by the narrow, vertically-sided gullies for sill-beam foundations, they may be contemporary. It is possible that what appears as the upper edge of a 'cut' results from the removal of the timber once the layers of charcoal rich material had developed against the sill beam. The lower fills of these gullies were extremely compact and sandy, and this material may have provided a well drained bedding for the sill beams. This interpretation might be supported by the southern limit of the charcoal, which predominantly respects the line of one of the east-west aligned beam slots. The only exception was a single patch c. 1.2 m

³¹. WYMCC, *op. cit.* in n. 27, p. 12.

³². WYMCC, *op. cit.* in n. 27, p. 29.

³³. WYAS, *op. cit.* in n. 1, section 3.4.2.

³⁴. Abramson, *op. cit.* in n. 29, p. 44.

wide on the south-east side of the spread, which extended for a short distance to the south of the slot. This may indicate metalworking within an open-ended building (as known for example at the late Flavian site of Red House, Corbridge) and evidence for metalworking and 'strip buildings' is characteristic of what is known of the uses of annexes.³⁵ Although a detailed plan cannot be reconstructed, the evidence indicates at least one rectangular building, not less than 9 m east-west and 6 m north-south. It is likely that the other lengths of beam slot are from one or more similarly aligned buildings. The dating evidence associated with the metalworking suggests a Hadrianic or later date. The charcoal from the metalworking was not selected from coppiced material but used roundwoods from a variety of species. The small amount of carbonised plant remains includes possible bread wheat, spelt and oats and what may be arable weeds. The weeds could suggest that the processing of cereals took place nearby; the absence of chaff in such a small sample need not be significant.

Apparently associated with this phase, but possibly representing a secondary period of activity, is the soil development recorded in various test pits in the north of the site. The deposits were primarily recognised below a north-facing slope which appeared to run parallel to the River Aire. The structure of these deposits have identified them as being essentially domestic in origin (i.e. midden), with an alluvial component present, and to have developed gradually rather than as a single phase of dumping. The final layers of this appeared to seal the northernmost beam slot but as Flavian samian was recovered from test pits 2 and 10, it is possible that the accumulation started in the first century and may be associated with the earliest fort(s).

Although the evidence is slight, the bulk of the datable pottery from Bradley Street spans the first and second centuries AD. Such associations as there are would attribute the timber buildings and the metalworking to the second century.

There is considerable activity elsewhere in Castleford with which the second-century activity on Bradley Street may be associated, mostly to the south in what has been interpreted as a *vicus* continuing in use after the Flavian forts were abandoned. Whether the evidence, which includes barrack-like buildings, an entirely Roman as opposed to indigenous artefact assemblage and diet, and a range of military equipment really is consistent with a civilian rather than military context, remains to be seen. Consequently whether the activity from Bradley Street is civilian or military in character also remains uncertain but it may be noted the pottery assemblage, small though it is, is entirely Roman in character.

LATER ROMAN

Activity within the area of the known fort after its abandonment has not been identified before the middle of the third century AD, when small scale industries such as the production of lime and metalworking appeared.³⁶ This evidence has been found to the north of three large east-west ditches that cut across the middle of the earlier fort. Based on the observation made by Stukeley in 1724 that 'the Roman *castrum* was where the church now stands, built probably out of its ruins. The low ground of the ditch that encompassed it is manifest',³⁷ and the indication of an earthwork aligned north-south to the west of All Saints Parish Church on the 1888 Ordnance Survey map (Fig. 1), it has been assumed that the earthworks represented the remains of a third-century defensive circuit.

³⁵ W. S. Hanson, C. M. Daniels, J. N. Dore, and J. P. Gillam, 'The Agricola supply base at Red House, Corbridge', *Archaeol. Aeliana* 5 ser. 7 (1979), 1-98; G. B. Bailey, 'The provision of fort-annexes on the Antonine Wall', *Procs. Soc. Antiq. Scoll.* 124 (1994), 299-314.

³⁶ Abramson, *op. cit.* in n. 29, p. 48.

³⁷ Abramson, *op. cit.* in n. 4, p. 3.

The northernmost (inner) ditch of this defensive circuit was subsequently replaced by a massive stone wall resting on Magnesian limestone and clay foundations. As yet, no evidence has come to light to positively indicate whether the area that these fortifications defended was initially a town or a fort.³⁸ The substantial nature of the defences might suggest a military origin and the size of the area enclosed by the ramparts can be paralleled with other third-century AD forts, such as Piercebridge and Cardiff, and the possible military site at Brough-on-Humber.³⁹ Other than the area enclosed, however, there are few points of comparison with military sites. Other types of sites had defences⁴⁰ and the technique of the construction known at Castleford can be paralleled in a civilian context at Catterick,⁴¹ so the question of military or civilian origin remains open.

It is likely that the stone wall foundation trenches found at Bradley Street should be associated with this activity. Inferential evidence from the evaluation suggests a fourth-century date for the larger of the two foundation trenches, interpreted as part of the stone wall identified to the south-west. The replacement of an earlier ditch, provisionally dated to the late first to early third century, with this wall appears to reflect the sequences previously recorded for this feature elsewhere in the town. At least one of the north-south ditches to the east could also be part of this later Roman defensive circuit. The sections examined elsewhere in Castleford suggest an overall width for these defences of c. 34–38 m,⁴² a dimension which when applied to Bradley Street covers the area from the west edge of the ditch replaced by the stone wall to approximately the east edge of Ditch B. This arrangement would suggest that Ditch A represents part of this defensive circuit and its wide, shallow profile, which is not untypical of later Roman defences, would be compatible with this. The possibility that Ditch B, which contained medieval pottery in its upper fills, was originally excavated in this period and recut subsequently should be borne in mind.

ANGLIAN

On stratigraphic grounds the crouched inhumation burial 8120 is of post-Roman date, and although a medieval date is possible,⁴³ an Anglian one is more likely. Although generally poorly recorded and not well dated, single crouched inhumations thought to be of sixth- to seventh-century date are widely distributed.⁴⁴ Cemeteries such as Dalton Parlours are, at present, exceptional. There are certain or possible examples of single burials nearby at Pontefract and Ferry Fryston.⁴⁵ The discovery of burials of this date at late Roman sites is well known,⁴⁶ although this may reflect the gusto with which Roman sites have been explored as much as their original distribution.

³⁸. Abramson, *op. cit.* in n. 29, p. 48.

³⁹. D. A. Welsby, *The Roman Military Defence of the British Provinces in its Later Phases* (Oxford, BAR Brit Ser 101, 1982), figs 2.2, 8.1, and 11.1 respectively.

⁴⁰. D. Charlesworth, 'The defences of Isurium Brigantium', in R. M. Butler (ed.), *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire* (Leicester 1971), 155–64.

⁴¹. J. S. Wachter, 'Yorkshire towns in the fourth century', in Butler (ed.), *op. cit.* in n. 40, 165–77, pp. 170–71.

⁴². WYAS, *op. cit.* in n. 1, fig. 1.

⁴³. R. J. Cramp, 'Anglo-Saxon settlement', in J. C. Chapman and H. C. Mytum (eds), *Settlement in North Britain 1000 BC-AD 100: Papers Presented to George Jobey, Newcastle upon Tyne, December 1982* (Oxford, BAR Brit Ser 118, 1983), 263–97, p. 270.

⁴⁴. B. N. Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside* (Oxford, BAR Brit Ser 68, 1979), pp. 45–46; Cramp, *op. cit.* in n. 43, pp. 266–71.

⁴⁵. M. L. Faull, 'The post-Roman period', in M. L. Faull and S. A. Moorhouse (eds), *West Yorkshire: an Archaeological Survey to AD 1500* (Wakefield 1981), pp. 171–227.

⁴⁶. Cramp, *op. cit.*, n. 43; I. M. Ferris and R. F. J. Jones, 'Binchester: a northern fort and vicus', in R. F. J. Jones (ed.), *Roman Britain: Recent Trends* (Sheffield 1991), 103–09, p. 109.

MEDIEVAL

Archaeologically, little is yet known of medieval Castleford, although documentary references indicate the presence of a church, crossing points over the river and mills. The results from these investigations suggest the presence of a large north-south aligned ditch (Ditch B) which contained twelfth to fourteenth-century pottery in its upper fills, slightly to the east of Bradley Street. An east-west return of the ditch may have been observed as F49 in Evaluation Trench T5. This raises the possibility that the earthworks by All Saints Parish Church which since Stukeley have been ascribed a Roman date may be medieval. However, it is quite possible that the ditch was dug in the Roman period and only recut in the medieval period but on the evidence presently available the matter is beyond resolution.

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APPENDIX 1: THE IRON FOUNDRY

By K. Browell

The earliest reference to a foundry on the site is found in the obituary of Joshua Horne (1830–1915), co-founder of the Horne and Brewerton Iron Foundry of Bradley Street. Although written in 1915, this notes that he began business at Bradley Street with Joseph Brewerton in 1856, after serving an apprenticeship with Bradley and Craven of Wakefield. The earliest known document referring to the site is the Post Office directory for 1861, which lists an entry for Horne and Brewerton, Iron Founders and Millwrights, Aire Street. The name Providence Foundry first occurs in White's directory for 1866, and again in Slater's directory for 1875. Both these directories list the partnership as 'Engineers, Millwrights, Machinists and Iron Brass Founders'.

By 1877 the partnership appears to have split up, with Joshua Horne listed on his own in the Post Office directory for that year as 'Engineer, maker of stopper presses and plates for patent stoppers for glass bottles, and manufacturer of air compressors for testing and filling bottles, Bradley Street and Bank Street'. Joseph Brewerton is subsequently listed in Kelly's directory for 1881 as 'Boot Maker and Furniture Dealer, Aire Street'.

Little information exists to trace the development of the foundry site into the twentieth century, but several newspaper articles treat its demise in the 1980s. Although the early 1980s were generally a bad time for iron foundries in the area, with the closure of F. W. Birket and Sons, Carr Wood in 1980, and Anson Cast Products, Methley Lane in 1981, Castleford Providence Iron Works were expanding. In August 1983 a new foundry was constructed alongside the existing buildings, fronting onto Aire Street 'to take it [the foundry] into the twenty-first century'.⁴⁷ However, by summer of the following year the ironworks was in the hands of the official receiver.

⁴⁷. *Pontefract and Castleford Express* 11 August 1983.

THE ARCHIVE

The archive is deposited at Wakefield Museum, Wood Street, Wakefield, West Yorkshire WF1 2EW under the accession number 1993.1, which, with the Wessex Archaeology project code W550, is marked on all materials. The West Yorkshire Archaeology Service site code for the evaluation was CAS91D. Microfilm copies of the written and graphic field records are housed with the National Monuments Record and the West Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Record.

A SILVER APPLIQUÉ FROM ST MARY BISHOPHILL SENIOR, YORK

By R. A. Hall

In Vol. 48 of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, Herman Ramm (1976) reported excavations in and around the church of St Mary Bishophill Senior, York. Not surprisingly in this *colonia* site, occupation began in the Roman period, with a sequence of structures which culminated in late fourth or even, perhaps, fifth-century occupation. There was no sign of any subsequent activity during the Anglian (i.e. pre-Viking) period of the sixth-seventh–mid ninth centuries.

The earliest tangible remains of a church to be recognised were those of a unicellular stone building. Ramm suggested, however (1976, 46–47), that the relationship of this church to a series of underlying Roman walls, which it followed inaccurately, implied the existence of an invisible intermediate building, which might also have been a church. Ramm assigned the unicellular stone church to the late eleventh century, a date inferred from the discovery of a sculptured stone fragment of tenth-century date incorporated in its footings (*cf* RCHMY 3, 34, no. 19; Lang 1991, 95, no. 22). This fragment gave stratigraphic support to the suggestion that a graveyard surrounded and pre-dated this stone church, and could have been contemporary with its hypothetical predecessor.

This graveyard was represented in the archaeological record by portions of its enclosing wall, and by a number of fragments of sculptured stone crosses, gravemarkers, gravecovers and hogbacks, mainly dated on art-historical grounds to the tenth century (Lang 1991, 88–95). While noting that the burials associated with these sculptured fragments were no longer intact, Ramm presented various groups of bones as possibly representing contemporary graves. The most convincing of these was one associated with a tenth-century copper-alloy strap-end (Wilson 1965).

Among the objects recovered in the excavation was a silver item (cat. no. 627) which forms the subject of this note (Fig. 1). It was not illustrated in the report, but was briefly described (p. 58) as ‘a square, 16 mm across, of two closely plaited strands of fine wire, found in a disturbed layer on the flag base of the hypocaust channel in room IV, not far from the strap end (615) and, like it, probably from a disturbed late Saxon burial. It was probably originally fastened as an ornament to some item of dress.’

Recent cleaning of the silver wire square in York Archaeological Trust’s Conservation Laboratory has allowed a more detailed examination. The object has sides which are 18 mm long, and it weighs 0.91 g. The silver wires have a regular circular cross-section with a diameter of 0.5 mm; they show no surface detail such as drawing marks.

A cursory look at this small object, even at close range, would misleadingly suggest that each element in the pattern consists of two parallel strands of wire. Detailed inspection, however, reveals a more complicated construction. The most closely compacted series of parallel strands (Fig. 2 (1)) was fashioned by doubling a single length of wire; the doubled end shows clearly at the bottom of Fig. 2 (1). If this double strand is followed around, it will be seen that its duplicity ends immediately left of the bottom loop, which is traversed by only a single strand at this point. To the right hand side of the loop,



Fig. 1. The silver-wire plait, side A.

however, duplicity has been reinstated by the short length of wire defined in Fig. 2 (2). At its top end this is bent diagonally back to anchor it more firmly. This short diagonal length extends beyond the termination of its parallel partner by an amount approximately equivalent to the span across the doubled end where there is only a single strand. The short length is thus a broken end of its longer adjunct. It does not impinge upon any other length of wire, and could have been bound back to complete the parallelism of the major strand at any time during the item's manufacture.

Much of the remainder of the pattern is made from two separate strands of wire. Both have an end engaged in the element shown in Fig. 1 just below its topmost loop (Fig. 2

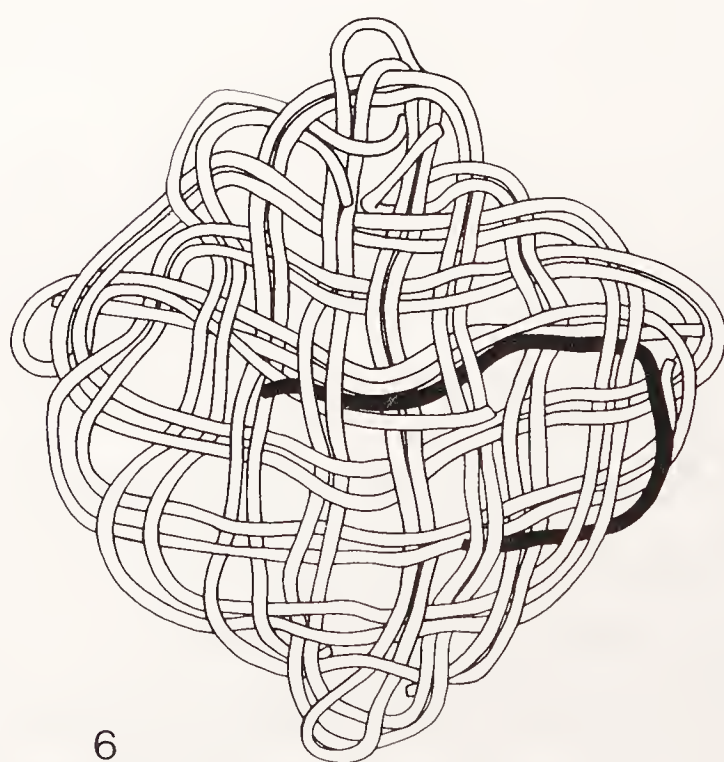
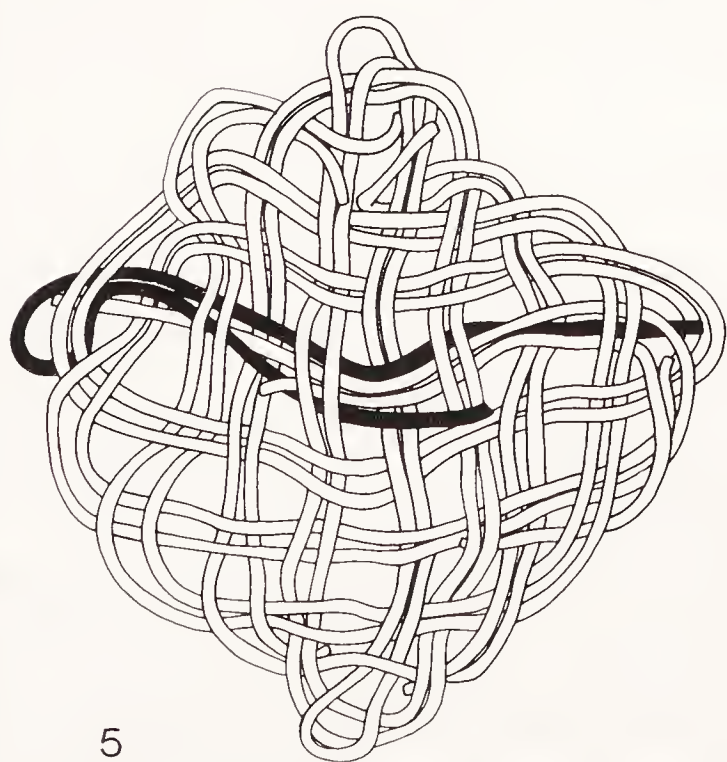
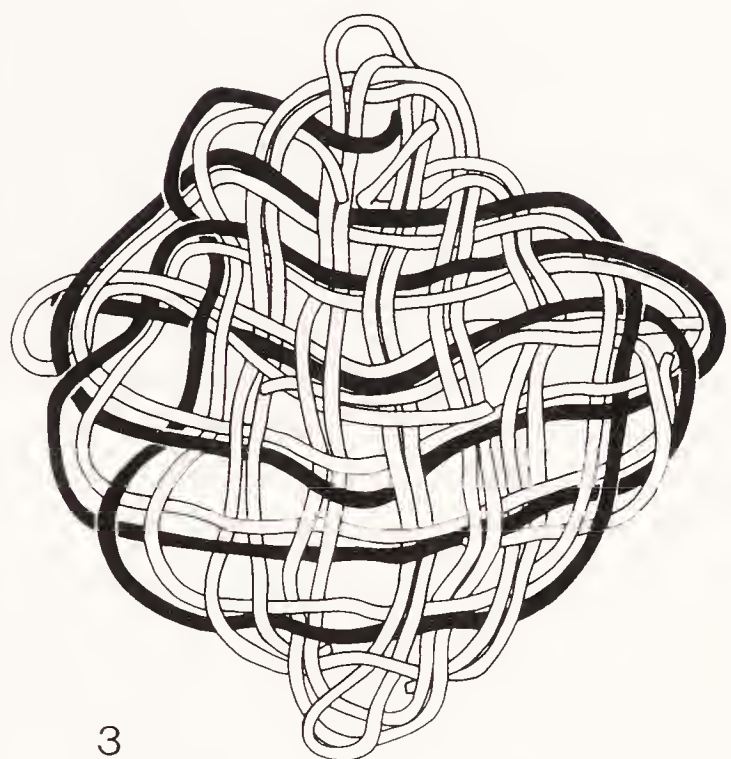
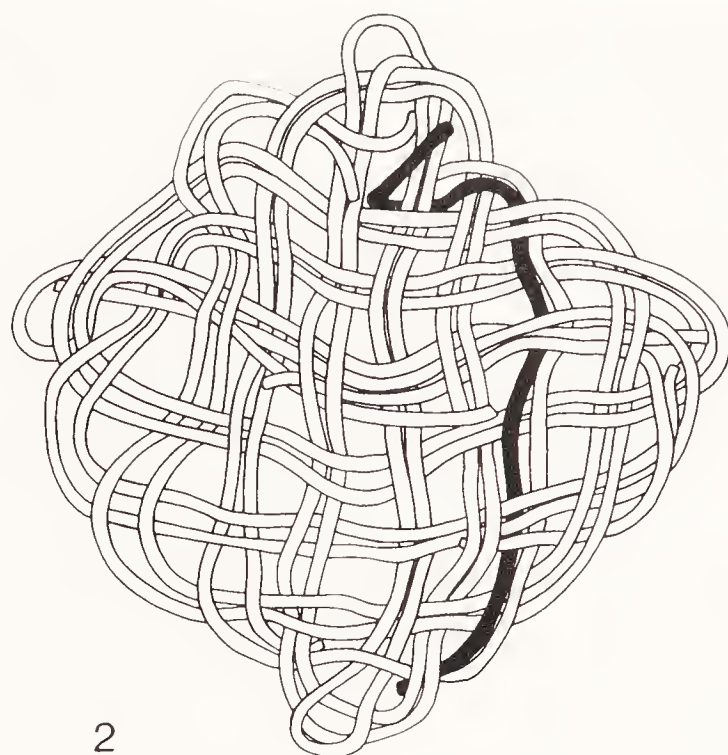
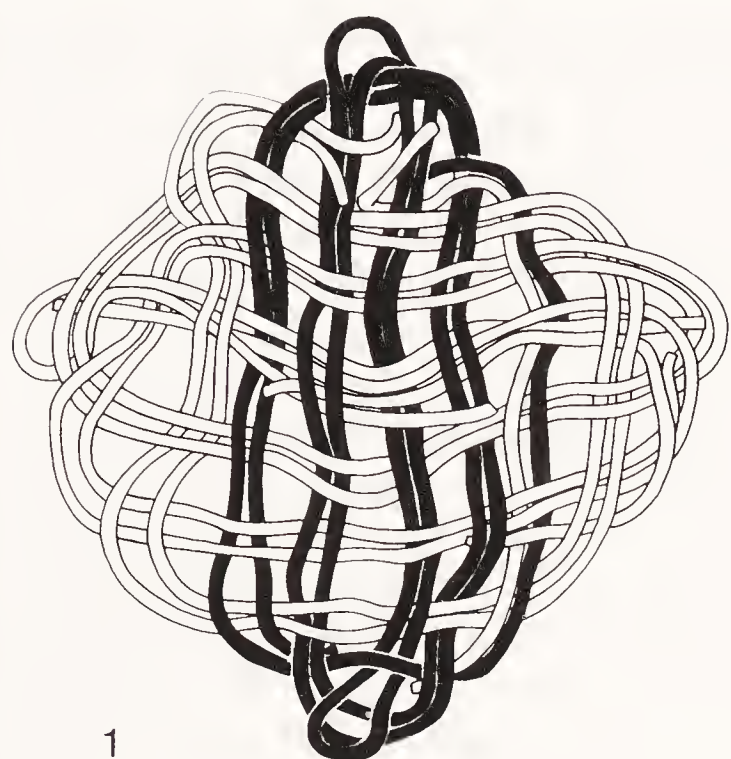


Fig. 2. Individual wire components of the plait, drawn as visible on side B.

(3) and 2 (4)); thence they can be traced in relatively loose parallel until one (Fig. 2 (4)) ends just below the right hand extremity of the pattern. The other, however, continues across the pattern to end at its left extremity. The resulting single strand across the centre of the design was augmented by a relatively short length of wire, doubled back upon itself, albeit unequally, and woven into the plait with its looped end forming the left extremity of the finished piece (Fig. 2 (5)). A shorter length (Fig. 2 (6)) overlaps with this one, further reinforcing the centre of the design.

Two of the more relevant parallels demonstrate that simple plaits such as this are widespread in Viking Age art. Finely made, double-strand plaited squares of silver wire, some in pairs linked by a silver knot, which are thought to have ornamented and secured the ends of silken tapes or bands, were recovered in the later nineteenth century from graves in the extensive ninth–tenth-century cemeteries surrounding the trading and manufacturing centre at Birka on the island of Björkö in Lake Mälär, eastern Sweden (Geijer 1938, 103–04 and Taf. 28, 2, 14). The motif also occurs on tenth-century stone carvings recovered from St Mary Bishophill Senior (Lang 1991, 89–90, Ills. 260, 263).

The nature of the Bishophill wire suggests that it was sewn on to some article of textile as an appliqué embellishment. The general opulence of the decorative embellishments on the attire of wealthy aristocratic Anglo-Saxons is indicated in some contemporary documents (Dodwell 1982, 174f). Gold embroidery is particularly well reported; locally, small fragments of gold thread have been recovered from late tenth–early/mid eleventh-century contexts at 16–22 Coppergate, York (Walton 1989, 314–15). The Bishophill plaited wire square is a different *genre*, and in itself hardly an index of the most expensive or first-rate decorative display. Nonetheless, although no directly comparable object is known to this writer, and although such appliqués for clothing are apparently neither attested in Old English literature, nor represented in contemporary illustrated sources (Owen-Crocker 1986, *passim*), Ramm's identification of the object's function can now be supported in general terms by reference to other discoveries.

The careful excavation of ninth–tenth-century burials in recent years, particularly in parts of the British Isles which were visited or settled by Scandinavians in the period 900–50, has brought light evidence for how small metalwork accessories, often of silver or even of gold, enhanced rich and elaborate articles of clothing. One example, found in a 'pagan Viking' context, was discovered in a cremation hearth below mound 11 at the barrow cemetery at Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire (Crowfoot 1956). This cemetery is associated with the wintering of the Viking 'great army' at Repton, only 3 km/2 miles away, in 873–74. In this case the interlace, which is in the Ösenstich technique, is drawn together tightly to form a rectangle measuring 28 mm × 8 mm. Traces of carbonised fibres found between the strands of wire indicated that it had been in contact with, and had perhaps been attached to, a piece of textile.

Some of the individuals buried on or immediately around the Viking burial mound at Repton, Derbyshire, were distinguished by having silver or gold elements in their clothes (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1987, 12 and frontispiece). One had embroidered gold thread on the chest, another had gold threads on a garment which extended from chin to toes, and a third had gold-embroidered cuffs decorated with silver pendants.

The custom of interring corpses with more or less elaborately constructed and decorated metalwork embellishments is also seen at Peel Castle, St Patrick's Isle, Isle of Man, where small balls of silver wire were found in two of the seven accompanied graves. In at least one of these cases they can be interpreted as decorative tassels, belonging to an ornate cloak (Freke 1995, 20, 22). These seven graves, which may be dated to the period 900–50 on the basis not only of artefact typology but also through some instances of

associated coins, constitute an intrusive element in a pre-existing Christian cemetery. They are interpreted as the burials of leading members of the Viking community on Man.

Tweddle (forthcoming) has studied a group of decorated metalwork recovered in excavations at Cathedral Green, Carlisle. The material includes four sets of buckle and strap-end, as well as other buckles, pins, a strap-end, a hooked tag and a pendant whetstone with a mount. All of these items are made of copper-alloy except for the latter two, which are of silver. Outstanding, however, is a gold pendant toggle consisting of a tube of gold wire-work, linked at its lower end to a gold wire-work ball. The suite of artefacts suggests that the burials in question are dated *c.* 900–50 and, as the objects have their best parallels in Norse contexts around the Irish Sea, Tweddle suggests that the burials are those of high status Norse incomers.

These instances demonstrate that relatively elaborate and costly items of costume embellishment, including some made of silver (and even of gold) wire, were being deposited in Viking graves in the British Isles in the first half of the tenth century. Indeed, in York, the adjacent parish churchyard of St Mary Bishophill Junior in York has yielded at least two accompanied burials of this period. One, of an adult male, is closely dated by a silver penny of swordless St Peter type, minted in York *c.* 905–15; it also contained a knife, whetstone and buckle-plate. The other, of which the sex is uncertain, had a penannular silver armring, with a smaller silver ring attached to it, on its upper left arm (Wenham and Hall 1987, 80; Pirie 1986, 54).

These comparanda support the suggestion that the Bishophill Senior interlaced wire square could represent an early tenth-century interment in an existing graveyard, involving a rite which incorporated a contemporary Scandinavian-influenced tradition of burying corpses dressed in appropriate finery.

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ST OSWALD'S CHURCH FILEY: A LATE SAXON MINSTER?

By Gordon Sleight

St Oswald's Parish Church at Filey is situated north of the town on the cliffs just south of the Brigg. Prior to Local Government re-organisation in 1974 the boundary between the North and East Ridings lay between the church and the town. The church is a very large cruciform building which on stylistic grounds has conventionally been dated to between 1150 and 1250. However, such a dating fails to make sense of a number of architectural features and renders both the location and the grand scale of the building inexplicable.

I want to suggest that the existing structure of the building incorporates work from the end of the first half of the eleventh century, and that the church may have been a re-foundation by Tostig (earl of Northumbria 1055–1065) of an earlier monastic settlement. This argument is largely based on a detailed visual examination of the central tower, and on the place of the tower in the building sequence.

Internally the tower is supported by fine thirteenth-century arches, wider than the nave, and virtually the same width as the transepts and chancel. Until the last century the ends of the nave walls were left sticking irregularly into the arch space, as if to suggest that they were intended for demolition. Internally and externally, buttresses of a Transitional style clasp the corners of the tower and, above a string course, the top stage of the tower is lit on each wall by a two-light Transitional aperture under a single arch. The conventional explanation is that the tower was the last piece of the building to be constructed, and that the unfulfilled intention was to demolish the nave and rebuild in similar style to the new tower.

However, the tower arches are stylistically half a century later than the rest of the tower; the whole tower is significantly wider than each of the nave, transepts and chancel, creating salient angles at each point where one of these arms meets the tower (Fig. 1).

1. The ashlar facing of the walls and buttresses below the string course is relatively crude and uneven compared to the ashlar above the string course and there are old roof lines visible in all four faces of the tower but the course line of the ashlar is not continued through these gables (Fig. 2).
2. Furthermore the tower is out of square and immense efforts seem to have been made to disguise this by making all four pairs of buttresses of different thicknesses. In fact the north-east pair do not actually exist, and what at first sight appears to be the recess between them proves to be cut into the tower.
3. There is also evidence of an attempt to disguise the salient angles of the tower completely. On the north-west and south-west the angles are covered by the aisles and on the north-east by the Victorian vestry and the earlier tower staircase, but on the south-east the angle is clearly visible above the parapets of the south transept and the chancel, but not below (Fig. 3). The parapets here are supported on a complex corbel which very successfully disguises the salient angle above, while below



Fig. 1. General view of the tower showing the north-west salient angle.



Fig. 2. North face of the tower with irregular rubble coursing through the gable, but regularly laid ashlar elsewhere.

the whole angle seems to have been cut away, unless one is to assume that the tower was built to be larger above the parapets than below.

4. The lower section of the tower stair is contained in a projecting turret on the east wall of the north transept, itself hidden externally by the vestry. At transept roof level there is a short and awkward corridor into the north-east corner of the tower, and the stair continues to the roof with two openings, one into the bell-ringing chamber and a higher one into the bell chamber. The doorway into the ringing chamber (situated immediately above the tower arches and vault) is crude and seems to have been knocked through a pre-existing wall, whereas that to the bell chamber is carefully constructed and looks Transitional or Early English in style. This corner of the tower is the one with the barely existing buttresses and the false recess cut into the tower (Fig. 4). In contrast to the rest of the tower, the ashlar on this corner seems to be of the same good quality at both stages.

A few comments also need to be made about the Transitional nave. There are clear signs that it was intended to have a western tower, but that subsidence caused this plan to be abandoned. The nave arcades are out of line with each other, but in line with the west wall of the central tower. This is, however, disguised by the internal buttressing of the central tower which half buries the easternmost pair of nave pillars. These pillars are composite, like the western pair, but unlike all the rest of the arcade, though they are not substantial enough to also take a tower arch and must have been planned to be free standing.

All of these strange features, which make no sense if it is assumed that the tower was the last part of the building to be constructed in about 1250, fall neatly into place if the tower is in fact the oldest part of the church, and if the ashlar facing of the lower stages, the buttresses, the stair turret within the north-east corner and the whole of the top stage are all later modifications and additions designed to make the tower acceptable to the architectural principles of the twelfth century.

The evidence from the nave seems to suggest that the original plan of the builders of about 1150 was to construct a western tower and a nave which would continue further east than it currently does and demolish the central tower. The failure of the western



Fig. 3. South-east salient angle cut away below parapets of aisle and chancel, but with buttresses above and recess between them which nevertheless cuts into the tower corner.



Fig. 4. North-east salient angle disguised by stair turret at lower levels and with a recess cutting away the corner of the tower above. Unlike the other angles of the tower, no buttresses flank this recess.

tower plan necessitated a major re-think and seems to have resulted in the decision to retain the central tower but modify and heighten it as noted above.

The chancel and transepts are of a very simple Early English style suggesting that they were constructed only a few years after the nave and central tower. However, as stated earlier, they are narrower than the central tower, which suggests that they too are remodellings of older structures.

A central tower with salient angles is virtually inconceivable after 1100, but in the period 1040–1070 they were common in major churches such as those at Dover Castle (Kent), Breamore (Hants), Sherborne (Dorset), Stow (Lincs), and Norton (Cleveland). So from a purely architectural point of view a case can be made out for St Oswald's being a mid eleventh-century cruciform church, provided with a new nave in about 1150 and then remodelled over the next thirty years to give it, very largely, the appearance it has now (Fig. 5). However, no purist of that time would have been happy with it and the tower arches of c. 1250 suggest more ambitious plans which were never completed.

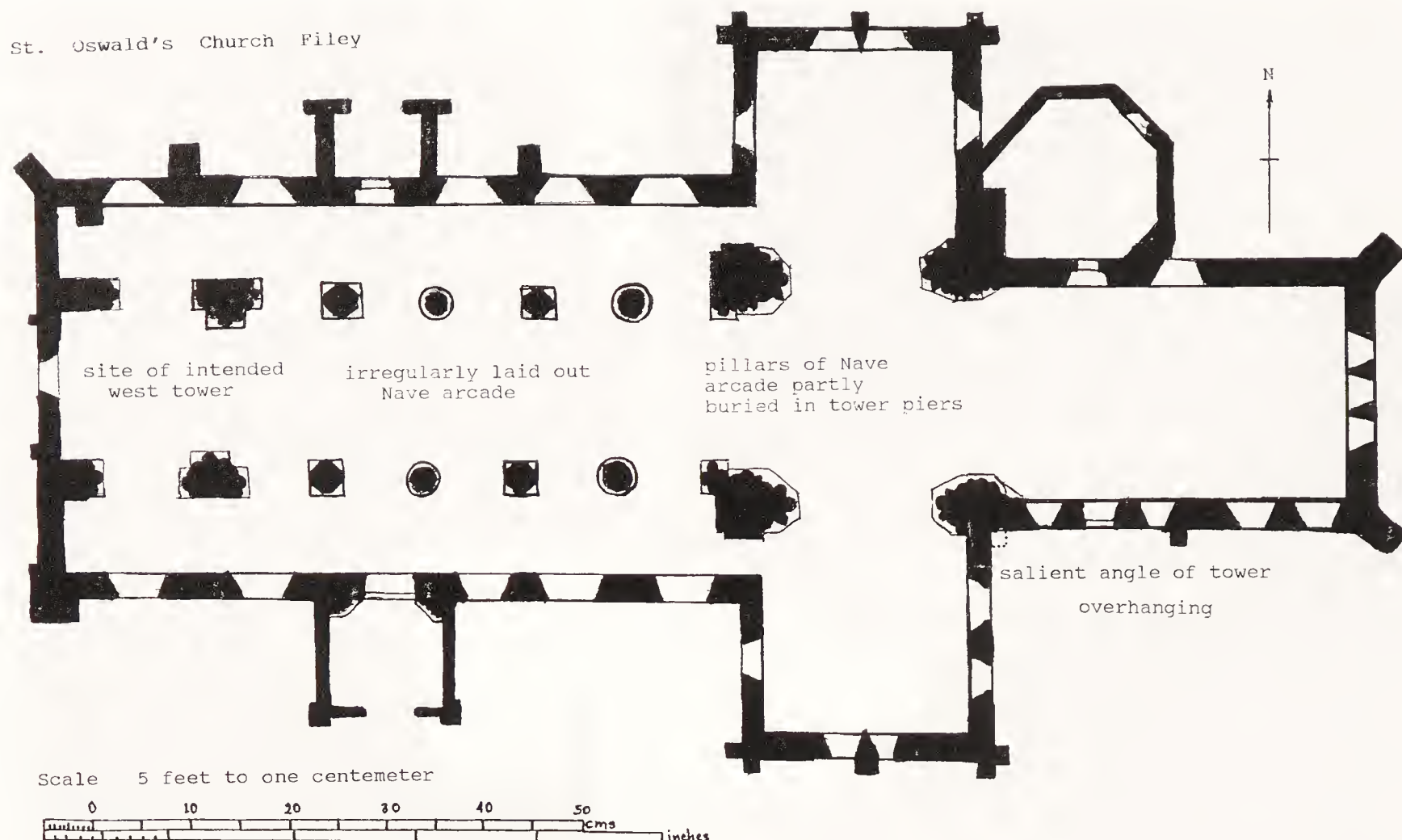


Fig. 5. St Oswald's parish church, Filey: ground plan.

If we turn our attention to the historical record we find that, according to Domesday, Filey was at the southern end of the Manor of Falsgrave, which before the Conquest was in the hands of Tostig, Earl of Northumbria. A member of one of the most powerful families in England, Tostig was the kind of person to have the power and wealth to have built a church with a central tower with salient angles. Furthermore, Tostig and his wife Judith had the motive, in that they were high profile devotees of the cult of Oswald.¹

After the Conquest the whole area suffered devastation from a mixture of William's Harrying of the North and measures to discourage invaders, such that by the time of Domesday the value of the manor of Falsgrave had decreased dramatically from £56 to £1 10s. Soon after the Conquest Filey came into the hands of the de Gant family of neighbouring Hunmanby, and sometime between 1114 and 1124 Walter de Gant gave the church at Filey to his new foundation of Bridlington priory, and it is therefore the priory which paid for the building work of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The existing parish of Filey still contains the townships of Gristhorpe and Lebberston and the probable sites of the lost Domesday settlements of Rodbestorp, Eterstorp and Scagetorp. Together these formed the six south-easternmost settlements in the manor of Falsgrave. Such a multi-settlement parish is not infrequently a clue to a lost minster, as also is an unusually large cruciform church in a small settlement.

If the church at Filey had been a minster with all the rights and fees that went with that status it could explain why Walter de Gant's gift to Bridlington priory was so significant and why the monks felt inclined to rebuild Filey church on such a grand scale.

Towards the top of the tower staircase is a stone with an interlace design carved into it. It is usually dated to the eighth or ninth century, hinting at a Christian presence in the St Oswald's vicinity at an earlier date. To the north-east of the church lie the remains of a Roman signal station. The signal station and the church are both on the top of the promontory which ends in Filey Brigg, just the sort of site favoured by early Anglo-Saxon

monasteries in Northumbria. To found a new minster at Filey in the eleventh century, far from the centre of the manor at Falsgrave seems odd, but if the cliffs at Filey were the site of an early monastery, and particularly if there was a real or legendary connection with Oswald, then its choice would have been ideally suited to Tostig's politically useful devotion to Oswald. Similarly, in the seventh century the Bernician Oswald would have found an empty promontory site in Deira a very useful place to found a monastery.

These latter comments are obviously speculative, but detailed professional archaeological examination of the fabric and some limited excavation might serve to confirm or confute them.

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THE MEDIEVAL AND POST-MEDIEVAL PORT OF FILEY

By Mark Johnson

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines through documentary sources the history of the port of Filey, from the earliest known references of the thirteenth century through to those of the nineteenth century. Certain local trades and the town market are also considered through historical records in so far as they relate to the functioning of the port.

An archaeological survey is presented of the stone remains known as 'Old Quay Rocks' that is believed to be the pier referred to in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century documents. Archaeological evidence is similarly presented for quarrying near the port. Documentary and archaeological evidence is dealt with in Parts 1 and 2 of this paper respectively; discussion and limited synthesis of Parts 1 and 2 are considered in Part 3.

PART 1. HISTORICAL REVIEW

It can reasonably be assumed that as long as there has been settlement in the area of Filey concurrent with sea-borne trade along this part of the North Sea coast, then Filey Bay will have been engaged in maritime activity. The first documented indication of this is provided by a legal dispute of 1241 concerning claims to the profits of the Friday market and yearly fair of Filey, the profits being 'as well on land as by sea'.¹ This is likely to be indicative of a toll on ships, or goods therein, landed at the town and illustrates the point that rights and privileges on the shore were already under manorial control; at this point in time of the lords of the manors of Filey and Hunmanby. The earliest document, however, that specifically states Filey to have been a 'port' dates from 1275/6 and, like most of the documentary sources up to the sixteenth century, is essentially legalistic in nature. This document alleges that seven men, the Prior of Bridlington amongst them, took wool, 164 sacks in total, to the 'port of Filey'.²

Documents of 1278³ and 1447⁴ again demonstrate manorial rights on the shore at the port, the first giving entitlement to whales that came ashore, reserving the heads and tails to the crown, and the second confirming the right to wreck of the sea.

Events connected with the long running English wars with Scotland during the reigns of Edward I and II were witnessed at Filey. In 1304, for example, two burgesses of Aberdeen were 'taken at Filey' and committed to York gaol 'for being found in a ship laden with cloth, armour and other merchandise which they were taking to Scotland to the Kings enemies'.⁵ Twelve years later in 1316, men of Scarborough and Filey were found to have been involved in the illegal 'taking of corn and diverse victuals and armaments to Scotland'.⁶

1. *YAS Record Ser.* 67, 'Yorkshire Fines 1232-46', 102.

2. *Rotuli Hundredorum (Rec Com)*, i, 115.

3. *Quo Warranto Rolls: 8 & 9 Ed. I*, roll 3, 189.

4. *Cal. Chart. Rolls: 25-26 Henry VI*, m. 33, 75.

5. *Cal. Pat. Rolls: 32 Ed. I*, 216.

6. *Cal. Pat. Rolls: 10 Ed. II*, 598.

The port of Filey figures in a number of fourteenth-century circular letters sent by the crown to ports in the realm. These letters were concerned with matters that were considered to be prejudicial to the state such as the prevention of overseas travel for certain individuals, keeping a look-out for and detaining suspected spies and enforcing a variety of travel restrictions. Such letters were addressed to the port of Filey's 'Keepers' in 1323,⁷ its 'Bailiffs' in 1342⁸ and to two named persons, Simon Milner and John Page in 1364.⁹

Maritime trades related to shipping and fishing have presumably existed for most periods at the town though the earliest known mention at the present time is of a shipwright recorded in a deed of 1501.¹⁰

Orders from the Privy Council for the repressing of piracy in 1565 saw the appointment of commissioners and their deputies within individual 'havens, creeks and landing places' to examine the maritime industry, much of this work being in the form of censuses and the gathering of intelligence.¹¹ Filey is listed amongst these places and one outcome of this was the naming of three people at Filey in 1578 as being involved in piracy.¹² A non-governmental survey of the British Isles by Raphael Holinshed in 1586 also records Filey in his list 'of such ports and creeks as our seafaring-men doo note for their benefit upon the coast of England'.¹³

The documentary references cited thus far clearly demonstrate the use of Filey as a port, a function that did involve legal authority and administration but need not require the furbishment of specialist structures or equipment. The first mention of such structural facilities is in a pilot book of 1588 which notes a pier and states that shelter at anchor may be had 'between the pier and Filey bridge (Brigg) which lieth under water at Spring tide'.¹⁴ A similar pilot book of 1625, re-printed in 1643, published by Willem Blaeu also records the presence of a pier at Filey and states: 'Three leagues by west of Flambrough head lieth Fyley, in a round bay to the southwards of a point that lieth out, which hath a pier or head, where you may ly within it, but it falleth there drie at low water' — 'Without the head of Fyley lieth a rock under water, called Fyley bridge, betwixt it and the pier you may well lie aflote with a shippe of an hundred lasts, in five fathome at low water, and have shelter for a north-east and east wind'¹⁵ (see Fig. 8 for copy of Blaeu's chart showing pier). Three documents pertaining to the manor of Hunmanby record the presence of a pier at Filey. The earliest of these is dated 1600 and states that 'The groundage of every shipp landed ffilowe peere with, for every shipp Vld and of every cole shipp two bushell coles to the Bayliffe for finding of ye bushell measures'.¹⁶ Conveyances of the manor in 1629¹⁷ and 1648/9¹⁸ again note the pier and its profits. That coal was a commodity being landed at Filey is also pointed at by a sale of land in 1625, one of the conditions of the sale being the carriage of coal from Filey to Muston.¹⁹

⁷ *Cal. Close Rolls: 17 Ed. II*, m. 29d, 147.

⁸ *Cal. Close Rolls: 16 Ed. III*, m. 35d, 485–87.

⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls: 38 Ed. III*, m. 6d, 76–77.

¹⁰ *Cat. of Ancient Deeds*, vi (1915), 207.

¹¹ *Acts of Privy Council 1558–70*, 278–89.

¹² *Cal. of State Papers Domestic — Addenda, Elizabeth, 1566–79*, XXV, 533.

¹³ R. Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1586) reprinted (1807), I, 182.

¹⁴ L. J. Wagenaer, *Mariners Mirror* (1588) reprinted (1966).

¹⁵ W. J. Blaeu, *Sea Mirror* (1625) reprinted in different order as *Sea Beacon* (1643), reprinted (1973).

¹⁶ East Riding Record Office: DDHU/9/32.

¹⁷ East Riding Record Office: DDHU/9/55.

¹⁸ East Riding Record Office: DDHU/9/60.

¹⁹ East Riding Record Office: DDHU/9/52.

There is evidence to suggest that by the 1630s the pier at Filey was in a state of decay. In a document of 1637 Endymion Porter, a groom of the Bedchamber, petitioned the King for 'letters patent for a collection throughout England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales towards erecting a harbour at Filo and maintaining a light there and to grant the same to the petitioner for 31 years' — 'and petitioner will pay into the exchequer the yearly sum of 20 L'.²⁰ In his preamble to this request Porter claims that the ancient pier is defaced and ruined. Whilst Porter did not succeed in having the state fund this project, his petition was forwarded by the admiralty to the Masters of Trinity House in 1638 for 'them to certify what importance or convenience the same may be'.²¹ In the same year Hull Trinity House considered this question of making Filey 'a harbour suitable for shipping'.²² Once again in 1661, and at the request of inhabitants of the town, Hull Trinity House investigated the suitability of Filey Bay as a harbour and 'a certificate was issued stating that Filey was a suitable place for the building of a dry harbour pier for the safety of ships trading northward'.²³ Despite these recommendations, reputed suggestions for a harbour in 1741²⁴ and repeated proposals for a harbour to provide better facilities for fishermen, to encourage trade and to provide refuge for passing ships in the nineteenth century,²⁵ no harbour was ever built.

By 1685/6 shipping rights at Filey are recorded only as 'groundage ffor shippis' and it appears that by this time the pier had ceased to function.²⁶ Groundage charges in Filey Bay continued to be paid throughout the nineteenth century to the lords of the manor of Filey. In the 1830s ships called up to 65 times a year and each paid a groundage charge of four shillings.²⁷ The number of ship visits declined throughout the century, due in part no doubt to the opening of rail lines to the town in the 1840s.²⁸ By the 1880s ship visits were sometimes down to single figures for a year and groundage charges had similarly fallen to a mere 3d per ship;²⁹ nineteenth-century cargoes were sometimes recorded and appear to be mostly of coal, with a small amount of timber.³⁰

Almost certainly practised at Filey from its earliest days, fishing is recorded from the 1120s right through to the present day, tithes being payable in the medieval period to the Prior of Bridlington.³¹ Filey men were sometimes landing catches in Whitby and Grimsby in the twelfth century³² and are recorded fishing widely in the North Sea in the thirteenth century.³³ In some respects fishing can be seen as separate from the port and shipping of Filey. There are no records or indications of landing tolls being payable by fishing vessels, no trade or exchange was involved in the gaining of their cargo, there were no overseas or long distance connections and the involvement of fishermen with the Keepers/Bailiffs of the port may have been minimal.

Quarrying at Filey is first recorded in the twelfth century when a grant was made to the Canons of Bridlington for stone 'to be delved and taken at their charges, and a

²⁰. *Cal. of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1637-38*, 373, 17.

²¹. *Cal. of State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1637-38*, 388, 371.

²². *YAS Rec. Ser. 105*, 'The First Order Book of Hull Trinity House' 1632-65, 31.

²³. *YAS Rec. Ser. 105*, 'The First Order Book of Hull Trinity House' 1632-65, 153.

²⁴. *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, East Riding 2* (1973), 142.

²⁵. *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, East Riding 2* (1973), 142.

²⁶. East Riding Record Office: DDHU/9/74.

²⁷. East Riding Record Office: DDHU/17/5.

²⁸. *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, East Riding 2* (1973), 143.

²⁹. East Riding Record Office: DDHU/3/28.

³⁰. East Riding Record Office: DDHU/3/21.

³¹. *Bridlington Chartulary* (1912), 77.

³². *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, East Riding 2* (1973), 141.

³³. W. T. Lancaster, (ed.) *Bridlington Chartulary* (1912), 78.

good free way over the cliff of the quarry for the length of the said cliff in the place called Le Hoke and elsewhere where they can find rock, and free entry and egress for their carts.'³⁴ It has been suggested that 'Le Hoke' may be Filey Brigg though it is also noted that overland carriage of stone is implied by 'carts'. The extent of medieval and early post-medieval quarrying at the Brigg is uncertain.

PART 2. SURVEY (*fieldwork in the northern part of Filey Bay comprising the survey of port related archaeological remains, Fig. 1 location plan*)

Filey Bay has long been recognised as a place of shelter and refuge for shipping, in particular from the prevailing north and north-easterly winds. Carr Naze and Filey Brigg form the northern limit of the bay and are composed of corallian rocks of oolite and calcareous grit, overlain at Carr Naze by glacial drift. The southern limit of the bay is formed by the chalk cliffs of Speeton; the coastal ground between these two extremities is relatively low lying.

A) Old Quay Rocks

The site known as Old Quay Rocks (Figs 1–5) is located some 70 m south of the west central portion of the southern cliffs of Carr Naze, NGR TAI2708148, at the height of mean low water. The survey of these remains was carried out between October 1993 and June 1994. All field drawings were made at a scale of 1:100, this scale being determined principally by the necessity for speedy recording as the remains could only be surveyed at exceptionally low tides. In order to eliminate moving shingle and small stones that might otherwise blur spatial patterning, only those stones measuring 400 sq. cm or above in plan surface area were drawn.

The remains consist of a slightly curvilinear concentration of boulders aligned approximately north-east–south-west measuring around 28 m in length and having a core width of 4.5 to 6 m, with a less concentrated spread a few metres to either side of this. At the north-east end the feature has a height above the immediate surroundings of approximately 1.3 m, this height tailing off progressively towards the south-west end where the remains stand little above 0.5 m. The stones have a maximum size of 1.3 m (in any direction) most being somewhat smaller than this and are of a type local to Carr Naze and Filey Brigg, together with a small number of what are probably glacial erratics. Despite laying up to four stones deep at its core, no coursing or strictly ordered laying of the boulders is apparent and none of the stones bears evidence of tooling or hewing, though such could arguably have been lost to erosion.

Although there is some slight variation in wave direction at this point in the bay, the long axis of Old Quay Rocks tends to face broadside on to the force of incoming waves on its south-east side. Though the extreme north-easternmost end of the feature butts onto bedrock it should be noted that the bulk of the protected interior area has a soft base of sand and shingle.

B) Quarried stone on the Brigg

The southern edge of the Brigg from the eastern point of Carr Naze to the Brigg end is strewn with large boulders, some of these measuring in excess of $4 \times 3 \times 2$ m. A considerable number of the boulders occur as large sub rectangular blocks having sharp and frequently square edges. At least four of these have straight holes drilled through them, three holes of 9 cm diameter and one hole of 5.5 cm diameter. A few of these boulders

³⁴. *Bridlington Chartulary* (1912), 80.

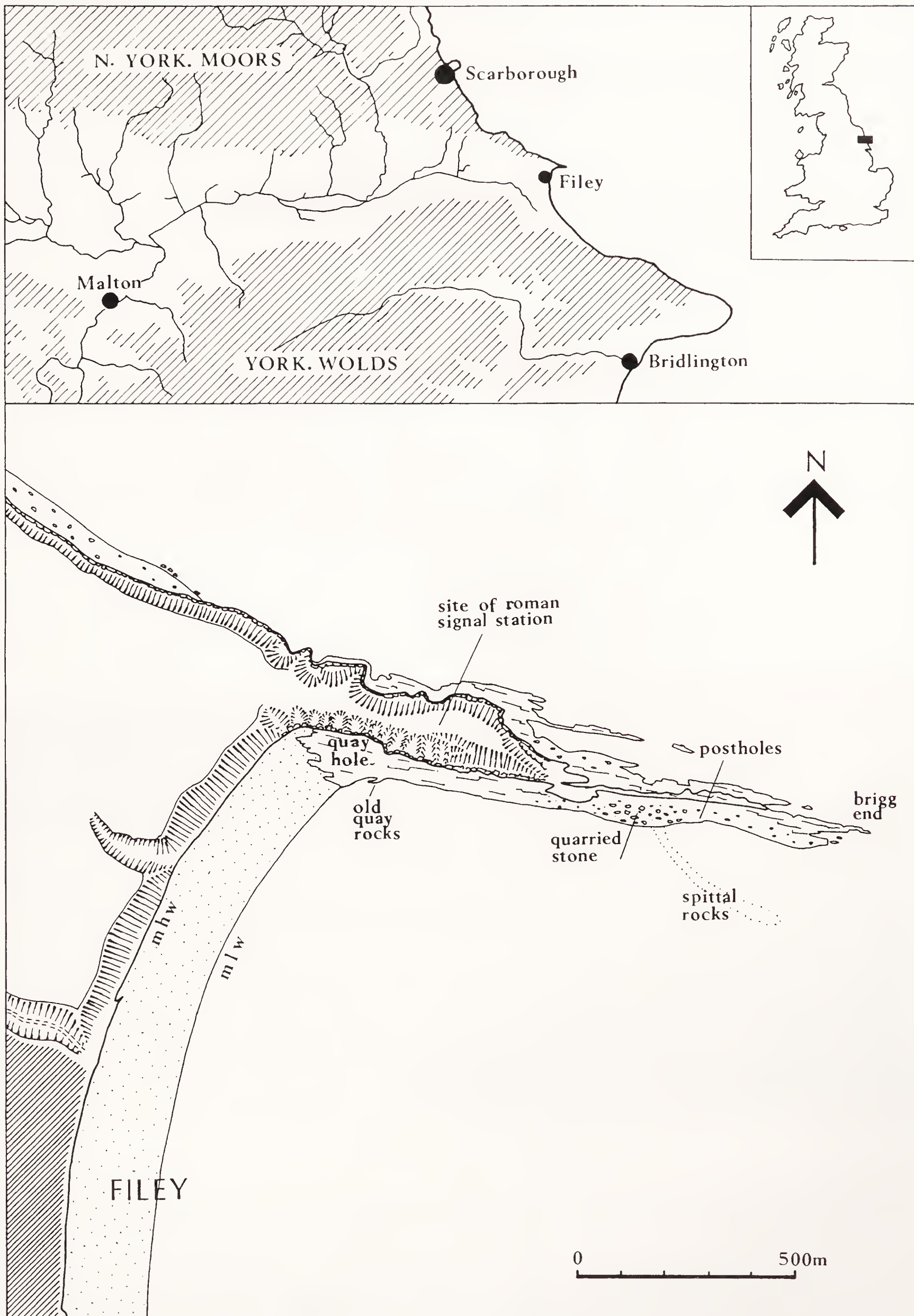


Fig. 1. Location maps.



Fig. 2. Plan of Old Quay Rocks, Filey.

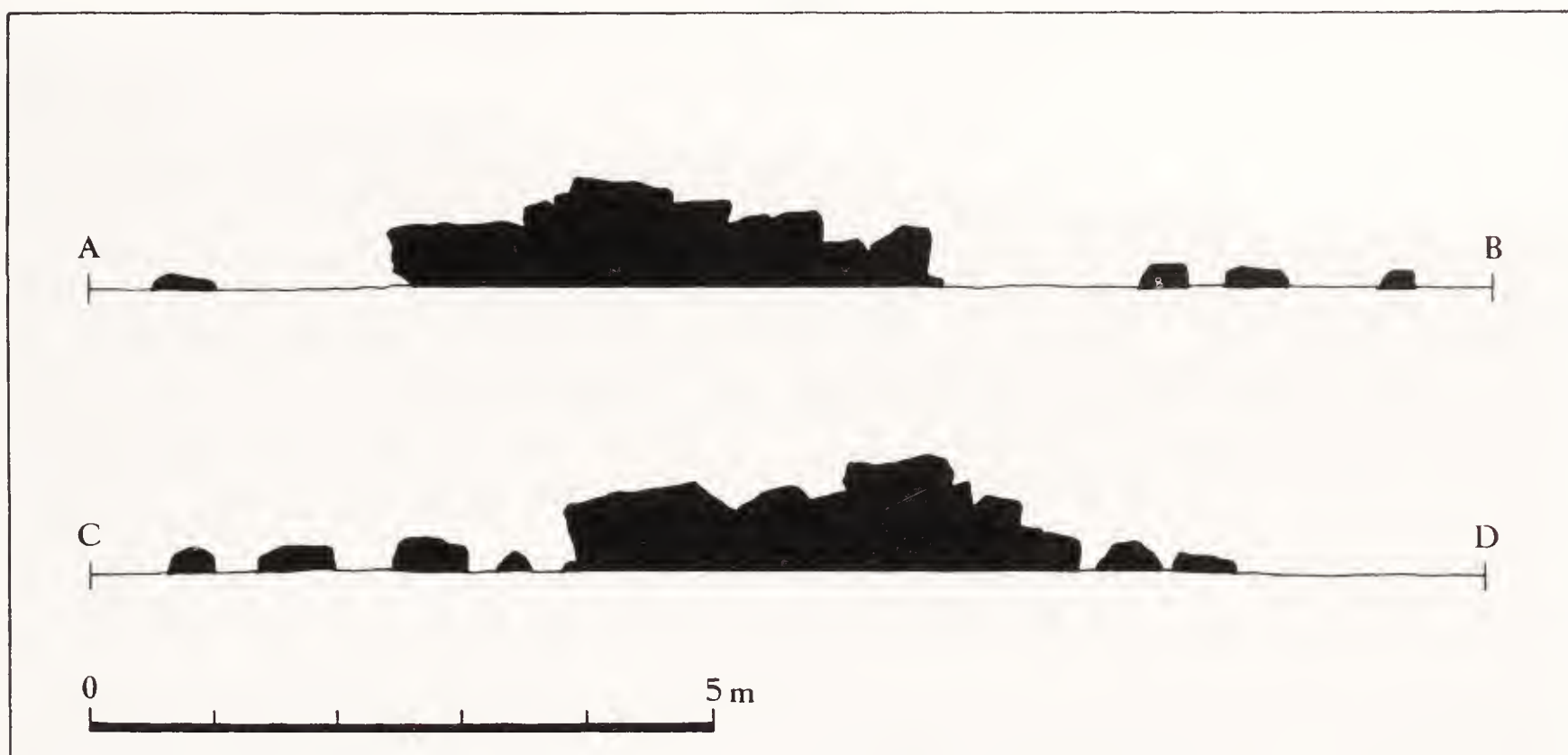


Fig. 3. Profiles across Old Quay Rocks.



Fig. 4. Old Quay Rocks between tides.

bear the marks of deeply gouged tooling. It is clear that numbers at least of these boulders are the result of quarrying (see Fig. 6).

C) Two postholes on the southern edge of the Brigg

Located some 50 m to the east of Spittal Rocks is the only patch of boulder-free bedrock on the southern side of the Brigg. In this area are two postholes cut directly into bedrock and spaced some 2.5 m apart (Figs 7a & b). The southernmost of these, Ph. 1, is sub



Fig. 5. Old Quay Rocks at low tide.



Fig. 6. One of quarried boulders on Filey Brigg.

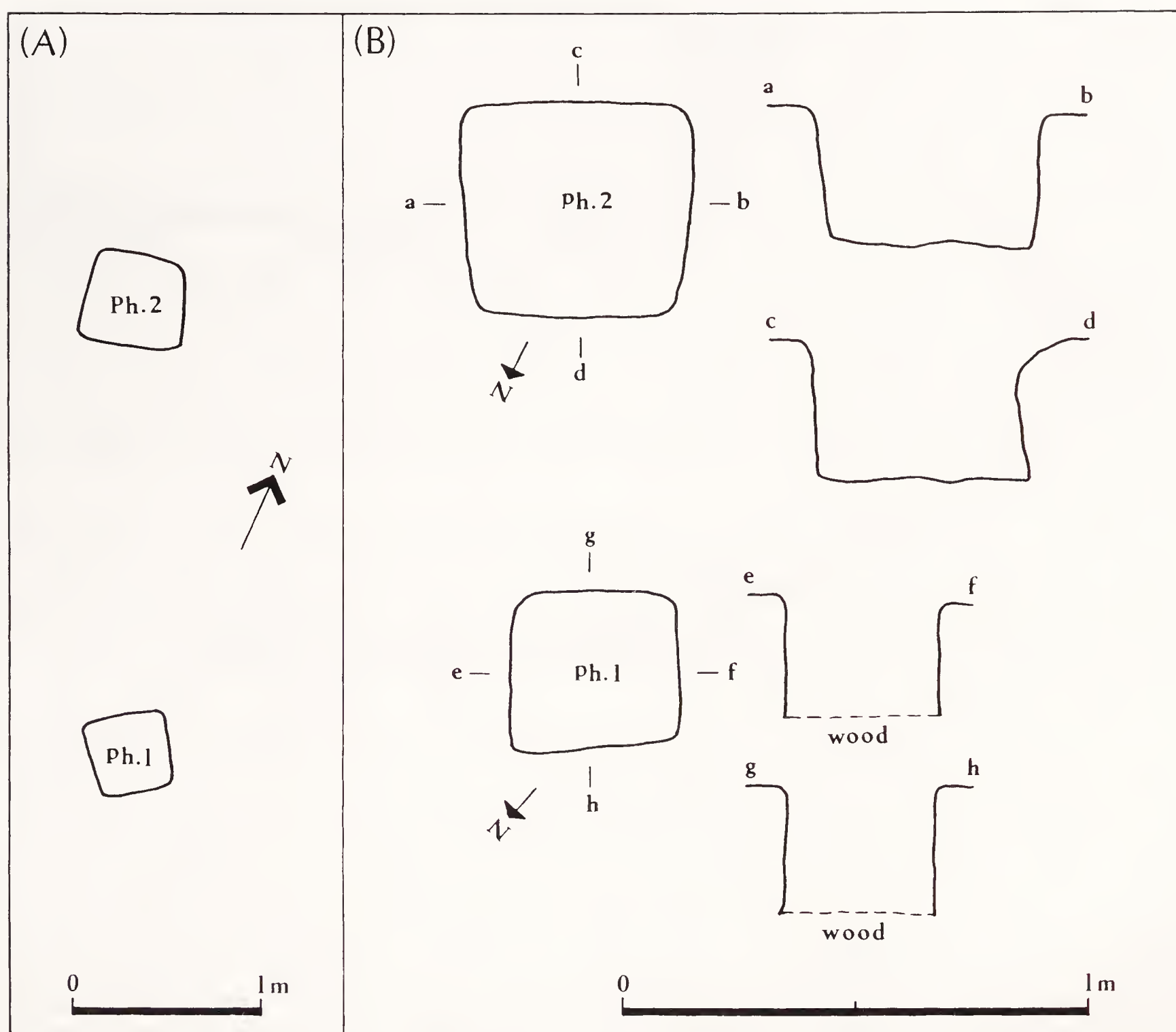


Fig. 7. Spatial relationships and profiles of postholes.

square with slightly rounded corners, vertically sided and measures 36×34 cm and at a depth of 28 cm is filled by the remnants of a waterlogged wooden post. Ph. 2 is also sub square with rounded corners and vertically sided; it measures $49 \times 41 \times 30$ cm deep and has a flattish base; it is assumed that this feature at one stage also held a post. The filling of the postholes was of loose sand and shingle. Though both features are sub square they are aligned at an angle to each other.

PART 3. SYNTHESIS AND DISCUSSION

It is argued in this paper that the site of 'Old Quay Rocks' forms the remains of the pier recorded in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century documents cited in Part 1. This identification is made on the basis of four categories of evidence considered below:

a) *Stone remains*. The physical remains at Old Quay Rocks are compatible with sixteenth–eighteenth-century descriptions of piers on the Yorkshire coast and are discussed in greater detail further in the text.

b) *Placenames*. There are two associated placenames in the vicinity of the site, 'Old Quay Rocks' which refers to the remains themselves and 'Quay Hole' which relates to an

indentation in the adjacent cliffs. The relevance of the 'Quay' element is obvious here and it is pointed out that an indentation in the cliffs next to the ruinous harbour remains at South Landing, Flamborough, bears the name 'Key Hole', the 'Key' element being a corruption of 'Quay'. The two placenames are first recorded in the earliest history of the town in 1828,³⁵ but are likely to be at least seventeenth century in origin.

c) *Topographical considerations.* It is clear from documentary sources that Filey was always a minor port; as such it could not aspire to a pier of any scale. Given this, its small pier was in need of the greatest shelter possible, in particular from the prevailing elements from the north-east. The only location that provides this in Filey Bay is one in the lee of Carr Naze. The site at Old Quay Rocks is clearly in such a location and, as commented on in Part 2, the long axis of the feature provides shelter from the only side not so protected by adjacent cliffs. It should also be noted that, with the exception of those located on estuaries, virtually every historical port on the Yorkshire coast that possessed piers lies sheltered behind a promontory to its north, e.g. Scarborough, Flamborough and Bridlington.

d) *Pilot book references.* The sixteenth and seventeenth-century pilot books of Wagenaer and Blaeu cited in Part 1 provide strong clues to the location of Filey's pier. Wagenaer states that shelter may be had between the pier and the Brigg. Blaeu makes the same observation whilst noting that at low water the pier falls dry. Both comments are true of Old Quay Rocks and indeed Blaeu's chart (Fig. 8), although largely schematic does show the pier immediately south of Carr Naze.

The only other candidate for the pier is the huge spit of permanently submerged rocks known as 'Spittal Rocks' (Fig. 1). Over the years a number of divers and antiquaries have commented on this 400+ m long phenomenon and some have ventured to suggest that it is of Roman origin, due to its proximity to the late Roman signal station atop Carr Naze. The only geologist to comment on the feature, however, a Professor Gilligan, declared it to be a 'cranch' or tidal accumulation of boulders.³⁶ Whatever the origins of Spittal Rocks, it is incompatible with being a medieval or post-medieval pier. Such is readily confirmed by its location and deep water being contradictory to the pilot book references, its lack of shelter even allowing for quarrying and erosion at the east end of Carr Naze and the fact that its massive scale, several times larger than the more major ports of Scarborough and Bridlington, could not relate to the minor and infrequently mentioned port of Filey. Given this, together with the four independent sources of evidence previously listed, there is a compelling case to be made that the site of Old Quay Rocks forms the ruinous remains of the historical pier.

The form of construction of the pier appears to be similar to that used at other contemporary piers along the Yorkshire coast. The physical remains themselves bear resemblance to some of the harbour remnants at Flamborough where the only surviving remains are of stone concentrations though it is known from documentary sources that timber also formed a component part of this quay.³⁷ Timber and stone constructed piers are described in varying levels of detail in a number of documents pertaining to Bridlington and Scarborough harbours between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Some of those pertaining to Bridlington describe a timber framework pier system divided into bays or 'rowmes' and filled with stone.³⁸ This type of construction was liable to frequent storm damage as a petition to the Crown from the bailiffs and burgesses of

³⁵ J. Cole, *The History and Antiquities of Filey, in the county of York* (1828), 11.

³⁶ M. Kitson-Clark, *A Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire* (1935), 82.

³⁷ M. S. Johnson, 'A Medieval Harbour at Flamborough', *YAJ* (1988), 105-11.

³⁸ M. S. Johnson, 'A Medieval Harbour at Flamborough', *YAJ* (1988), 110-11.

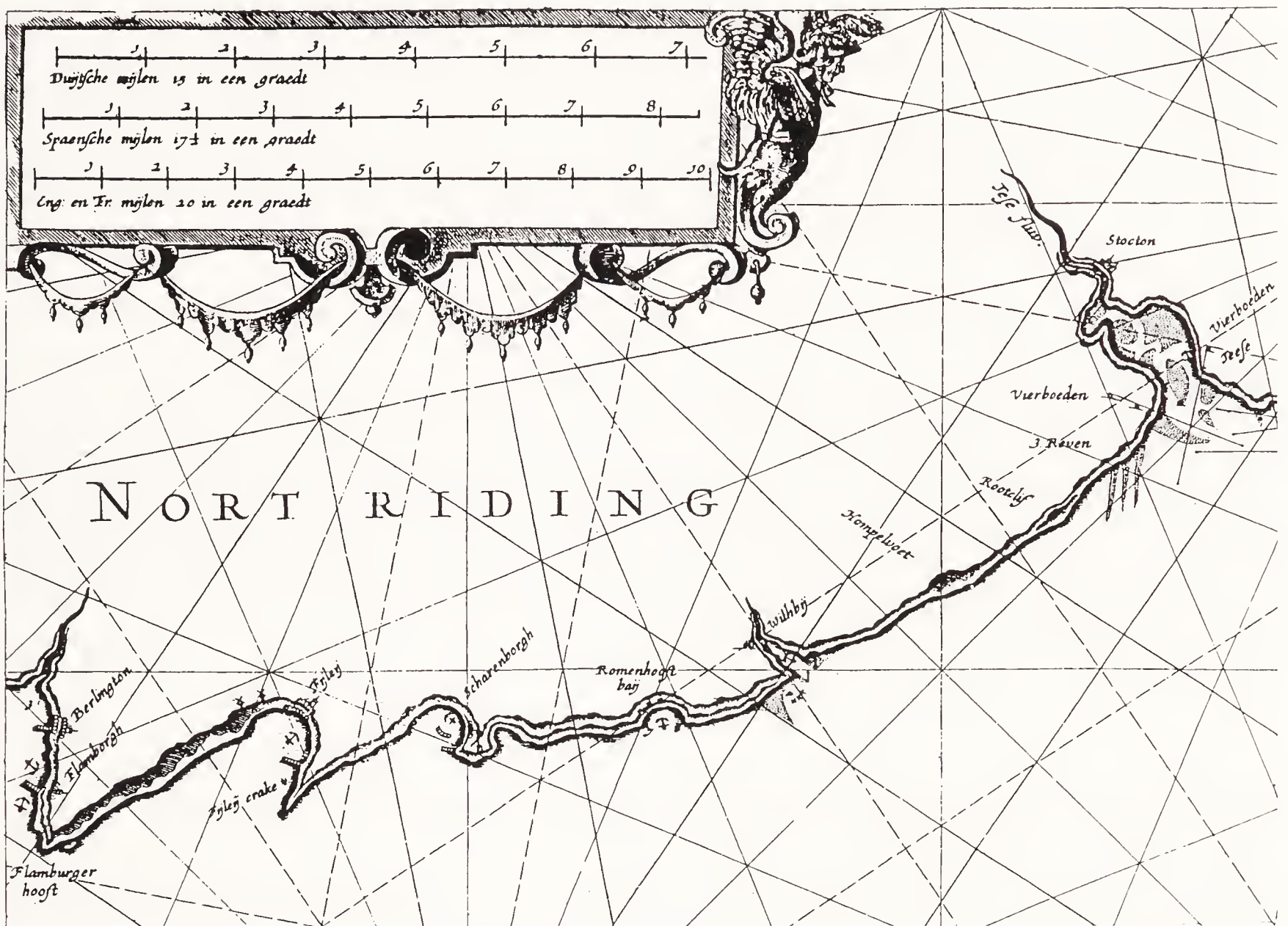


Fig. 8. Detail of Blaeu's chart of 1625.

Scarborough in 1566 makes clear: 'where the same peare is nowe and heretofore haith bene all the owte sides made of tymber framed like two house sides filled within with stones and stondithe upright as brode at the topp as at the bothome so that when the tymber faylythe which longe cannot contynewe agaynste the ragynge of the sea then the stones fallithe doune on both sides and so the breake is made.'³⁹ Though clearly constructed on a small scale, as at Flamborough, it appears that the stone remains of Old Quay Rocks form the stone core of a pier that was once surrounded by a timber framework and casing.

At the present time Old Quay Rocks is physically separated from dry land at high water and it is possible that this may have been so when the pier was in use. Whilst such a notion may seem to deny the benefits of a pier at all, it should be noted that for much of its life, at least between the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the southern pier at Scarborough took on exactly such a form. In doing so the pier or 'mole' is still performing its major functions of providing a static, secure mooring point and giving protection from the sea.

An alternative perspective in which to consider the pier at Filey is as a physical expression of the ownership of rights to tolls. As such, it may be that the pier was the place at which vessels were 'officially' obliged to moor and where the avoidance of paying tolls was not possible. In short, the provision of a pier may be seen as formalising and helping to regulate the trade of the port.

³⁹ A. Rowntree, (ed.) *History of Scarborough* (1931), 206.

It may well have been manorial rights again that were responsible for the construction and maintenance of the pier, in the form of labour services owed by tenants of the manor. Certainly this was the case at Bridlington where the tenants of Bridlington Priory's land did day works for the repair of the harbour.⁴⁰

The quarrying of stone from Filey Brigg is likely to be a very old practice as was noted in Part 1, and it is clear that this quarrying continued through the nineteenth century when stone was taken to a number of local villages as well as the ports of Scarborough and Bridlington.⁴¹ An amount of this stone was apparently transported by sea rather than by land.⁴² This transportation by sea explains the size of many of the large quarried blocks on the Brigg whose movement by any means other than water would have been virtually impossible. The two large postholes located on the Brigg during the survey may well relate to this activity and given that there are two and not more, are likely to have once held mooring posts for vessels rather than sheerlegs or other stone moving apparatus.

The documentary and archaeological evidence both indicate that Filey's port was always a very minor one, probably of little significance beyond the town and its immediate hinterland of small villages. As such, the port was in keeping with the economic status of the small town itself whose weekly medieval market never produced large tolls and whose annual fair lasted only two days.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Tara Ward, David Hunter and Kelly Grieveson kindly assisted with parts of the surveying of Old Quay Rocks, provided constructive criticism, and proof read the draft text. Computer facilities were provided by Kelly Grieveson.

Parts of the historical research were made easier thanks to the earlier tracing of certain of the historical documents relating to Filey by J. C. Ellis in two unpublished historical essays on the area lodged in the local reference section of Scarborough public library.

⁴⁰. *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, East Riding* 2 (1973), p. 98.

⁴¹. *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, East Riding* 2 (1973), p. 132.

⁴². M. Andrews, *The story of Filey* (1946), 11-12.

A MEDIEVAL INCISED GRAVE COVER FROM FILEY BRIGG, FILEY, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By Patrick Ottaway

In March 1993 a stone block, probably a grave cover, bearing an incised cross set in a circle was found on Filey Brigg by Mr Carl Whittaker following a period of intense storm activity. The find spot lay amongst rocks at the west end of the Brigg immediately below a small hut formerly used for the sale of refreshments. The block is made of the local sandstone (Lower Calcareous Grit) and the incised design is of medieval type. Although the original context from which it derived can not be determined, the block may have formed part of the archaeology of the Carr Naze, the promontory of land on the north side of Filey Bay which terminates in the Brigg rocks. The Carr Naze was the site of a late Roman signal station and of intermittent activity in later periods (Ottaway forthcoming), although no medieval structure is known nearer than Filey church *c.* 1.5 km to the south-west.

As originally found, the block measured *c.* 1,000 mm × 530 mm × 130 mm. The upper surface had been chamfered along both sides and at the end at which the incised design was located, but the other end had been cut vertically. Since its weight rendered recovery of the whole block impossible, a piece 540 mm long bearing the design was cut from it and removed from the Brigg by Mr Chris Robinson and Mr Whittaker in August 1993. The remaining piece has since disappeared. All faces of the stone are weathered and parts of the design have been either worn away or obscured in places by a hard concretion.

The incised design consists of a cross within a circle (Fig. 1). The cross has short, thick arms which each, except perhaps for the basal arm, terminate in three pointed buds. The form of the design at the base of the cross is hard to determine, although there is some indication of the head of a cross shaft. No shaft could, however, be traced below the circle. In the centre of the cross the letter W has been incised, perhaps representing the Omega, symbol of 'the end' as referred to in the Book of Revelation, which would be appropriate for a grave monument.

The design should probably be dated to the thirteenth century. According to Butler (1964, 136, Fig. 6) grave covers with similar crosses terminating in a simplified fleur de lys of two rounded leaves flanking a pointed bud are common in the period 1230–60 in the East Midlands. Ryder (1985, 12) dates the same design to the late thirteenth century in County Durham. No exact parallel for the Filey design appears in the corpus of grave covers in the Bridlington area published by Earnshaw (1969), although he assigns crosses with straight arms, and leaf and pointed bud terminals to the early thirteenth century (*ibid.* 342). An exactly comparable cross to that on the Filey stone has been recorded by the author at Lastingham, North Yorkshire *c.* 40 km to the west.

The circumstances in which the incised block from Filey reached its place of discovery on the Brigg cannot be determined, but there appear to be two options. The first is that it originates from a local church and was brought to the Brigg, perhaps in recent times for some form of construction work. The second option is that the stone has always been on the Carr Naze. The first option appears, at first sight, unlikely in the absence on the

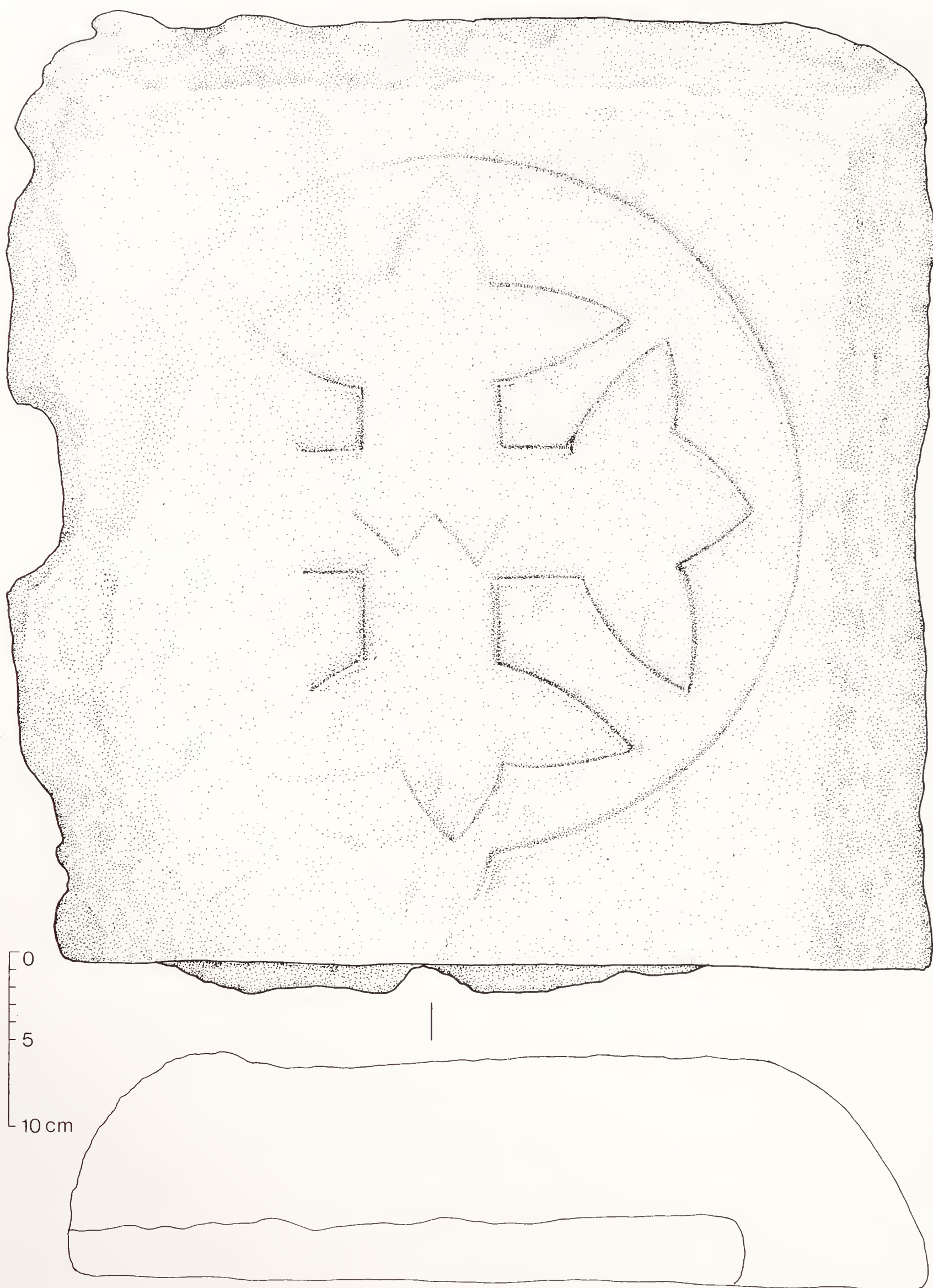


Fig. 1. The upper part of a medieval inscribed stone from Filey Brigg (Scale 1:4).

Brigg rocks of any other stonework which might suggest a consignment of common origin. Although there is no archaeological context for a medieval incised stone on the Carr Naze, the second option appears to be the most likely. The stone may derive either from a grave or from an undiscovered structure on the Carr Naze, in which it had been re-used as a building stone. An alternative is that the block was quarried from the Carr Naze, partly prepared for use as a grave cover, but then discarded. This theory is, perhaps, supported by the absence of an incised shaft below the cross, and absence of a chamfer at one end. Filey Brigg was probably used as a quarry throughout the medieval period to judge by the stone in several local churches including St Oswald's, Filey itself.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Carl Whittaker for drawing my attention to the stone and for making it available for recording. The drawing is by Kate Biggs. Preparation of this note was funded by English Heritage as part of a forthcoming report on the Filey Roman signal station.

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A NOTE ON BRIDGE TIMBERS FROM THE MEDIEVAL MOATED SITE OF KINSLEY, NEAR WAKEFIELD

By Stuart Wrathmell, with a contribution by Cathy Groves

In September, 1995 the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service received reports that a number of timbers had been dredged up from the still water-filled north-west arm of Kinsley moat, in the township of Hemsworth, near Wakefield (SE 4089 1436). The site is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (SAM 13287), and after discussions with English Heritage it was decided to record the timbers, and to sample them for dendrochronological analysis before returning them to the moat.

Though the precise provenance of the timbers is not known, it can be estimated retrospectively, on the basis of the machine tracks, that they came from an area towards the centre of the north-western arm of the moat. In addition to the five oak timbers discussed here as elements of a former bridge substructure, there are two lengths of round-section post, about 150 mm in diameter, which had perhaps been used as piles, several fragments of planking, and two other pieces of timber which are as yet unidentified but may be elements of the bridge superstructure.

The most readily identified timber (Fig. 1 (A, A', A'')) is a transverse sole-plate designed to support a timber trestle (Rigold 1975, 56–59). It had been broken into two pieces, presumably when it was lifted from the moat. It is formed out of a full tree trunk, the thicker end (right, on the drawing) still bearing the marks of the axe. The top surface has been cut flat but the underside is still partially rounded.

The upper surface (A) contains six mortices, all with peg holes and most with the remains of pegs *in situ*. They are arranged symmetrically: a pair at the outer ends and two pairs towards the centre in stepped formation. The shape of the mortices (see side view, A') suggests that the outer and innermost pairs were designed to take angled timbers, and that the intermediate pair was for uprights. Pairs of triangular notches cut into the lower angles of the timber directly below the intermediate pair of mortices (see views A' and A'') were presumably designed to house longitudinal sole-plates running at right-angles beneath the transverse plate.

Four other timbers (Fig. 1 (B–E)) appear to be braces or shores set diagonally to the horizontal plates and uprights. Each of the larger ones, timbers B and E, has a preserved end containing a tenon; the other end has, in each case, rotted away. Timber E is a curved, oblong-section blade reminiscent of a cruck timber; the other is straight and much more square in section. The smaller diagonal shores, C and D, are both straight and square-sectioned, and were probably once of similar dimensions; each has the remains of a halving joint close to the rotted end of the timber. Timber D, however, seems to have undergone a secondary modification: the bottom part of the brace including most of the tenon was sawn off, probably in order to set it directly against an upright; its angle of inclination was changed at the same time.

The sole-plate has closest affinity to Rigold's Type IIIc structures, in which transverse and longitudinal sole-plates 'are trenched into each other at both ends and form a quadrilateral ground-frame, to which posts may be shored in any direction' (Rigold 1975,

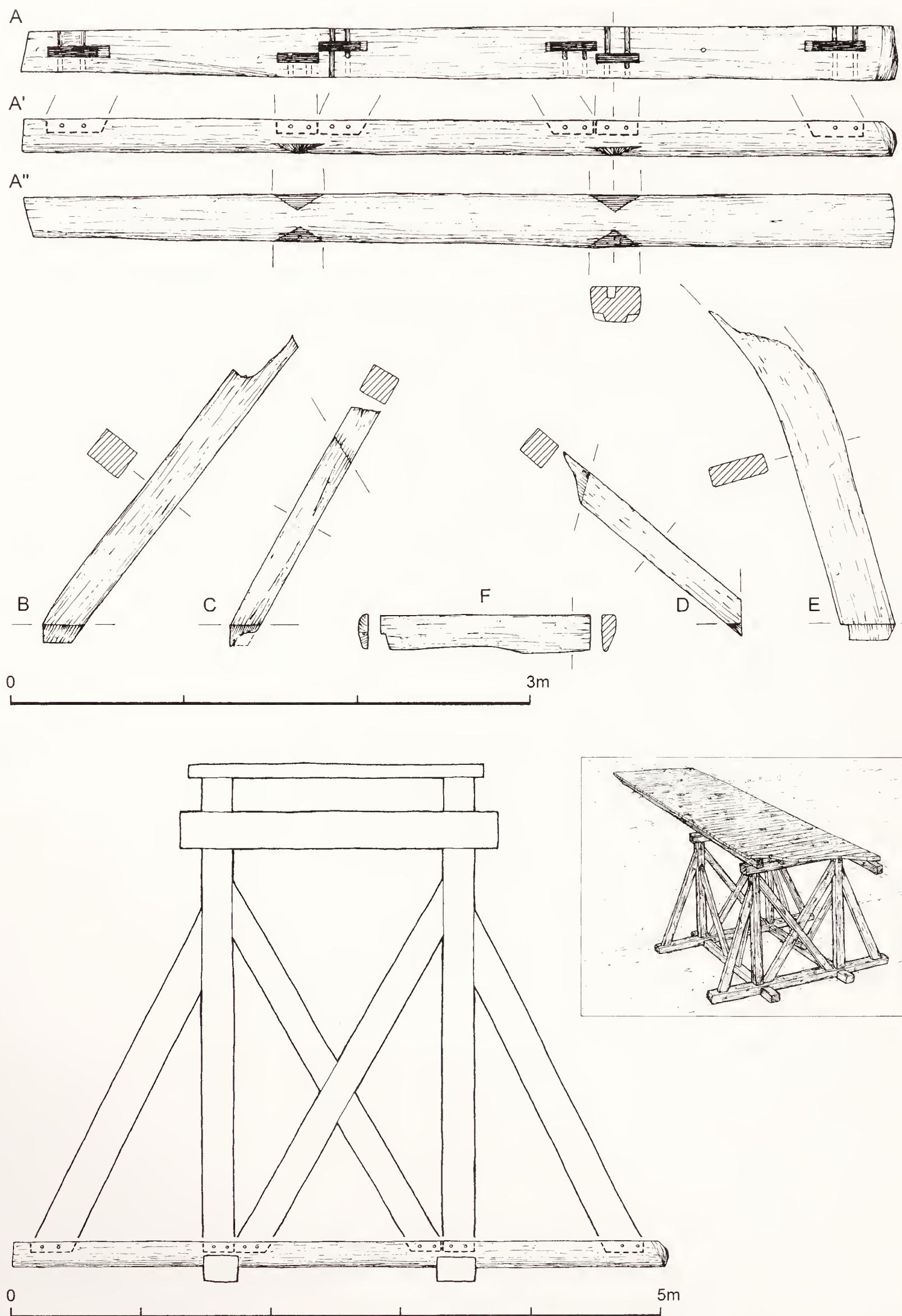


Fig. 1. The bridge timbers (A–F) from Kinsley Moat, and the suggested structural form of the bridge (drawing by Jon Prudhoe).

59 and Fig. 17). Timber A is almost certainly a transverse plate: with one exception (Rigold 1975, 70), the examples in Rigold's corpus are of transverse plates laid above longitudinal plates, rather than the reverse. Notched trenching is not recorded by Rigold, but some of his descriptions are based on old and inadequate field records and on structures which were not dismantled.

The mortices in the sole-plate can be used to deduce the pattern of uprights and shores. The main vertical posts are represented by the pair of mortices set directly above the notchings for the longitudinal plates. These would have supported a tie or lintel which in turn would have sustained the longitudinal bearers of the walkway (Rigold 1975, 84). The mortices forming the outer pair are shaped to take diagonal shores, as are those of the innermost pair: the latter would have taken the form of scissor bracing, the timbers being halved into each other at their point of intersection. The brace mortices are offset in relation to the vertical post mortices, and suggest that the braces were pegged into the faces of the vertical posts.

With four diagonal shores in the assemblage of timber recovered from the moat, it is tempting to infer that timbers B and E were the main outer shores, and timbers C and D the scissor bracing between the pair of uprights. There are, however, several obstacles to such an inference. In the first place, none of the surviving tenons contained peg-holes, whereas the shores founded in the sole-plate had clearly been pegged. Secondly, the shore mortices in the sole-plate would appear to have been designed to take blade-like braces of the kind represented by timber E, rather than square-section braces similar to the other three. Thirdly, dendrochronological analysis failed to provide cross-matches for the various timbers (see below); and although this does not prove that the various timbers were felled at different times, it equally fails to prove that they were felled during a single building operation. On balance, the inference must be that the shores and braces are not the original members associated with the sole-plate.

The shores and braces may, therefore, signify piecemeal replacement of original components of the transverse frame. Alternatively, they — or some of them — may have formed bracing on the longitudinal axis. In the absence of dendrochronological dates, it is worth suggesting that timber E, though not itself original to the surviving sole-plate, may be taken to represent the form of bracing on the transverse axis (compare Rigold 1975, 80 and Fig. 32), with timber B representing one of the main longitudinal shores. Timbers C and D seem comparable in terms of their size and original inclination; furthermore, they would fit the space between the uprights in the transverse plane. On the other hand, if the box framework was square they would presumably have fitted between the posts on the longitudinal axis.

The height of the bridge substructure can be given at least a minimum value by taking into account the projected course of the shores and the point at which the recovered braces had rotted away (presumably just below the normal water level: compare Kirby Muxloe in Rigold 1975, pl. x). The walkway, presumably about 2.4 m wide given the spacing of the uprights (compare Rigold 1975, 67), would have had longitudinal bearers, and planks set transversely: some fragments of planking, one of them nailed, were recovered (Fig. 1 (F)). One of the smaller timber fragments not illustrated here may be the end of the railing on one side of the bridge.

The principal question remaining, is whether the walkway was a permanent bridge, or whether it had a lifting section — a feature to which Type IIIc substructures were ideally suited. Given the apparent context of these remains, it seems unlikely that they belong to anything more elaborate than a permanent bridge.

Apart from the timbers discussed above, and a few items of leather (including shoe soles), the dredged-up moat silts produced 21 sherds of pottery, which range in date

broadly between the thirteenth or fourteenth century and early seventeenth century. The earliest are four or five sherds from jars and jugs in the Northern Gritty ware tradition, and a rim fragment which may be Humber ware. Late medieval and sixteenth-century wares are represented by jugs and cisterns with fully reduced coarse fabrics, along with a Skipton-on-Swale jug. On present evidence, therefore, the Kinsley moat could belong to the main phase of English moat construction in the thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries (le Patourel 1973, 16–19).

Summary Report On The Dendrochronological Analysis
By Cathy Groves

All ten samples taken for analysis were oak (*Quercus* spp) and none had any trace of sapwood surviving. It seems likely, when allowance is made for the rings lost during the conversion of the trunks into beams or planks, that the majority of trees used were probably around 100 years old when felled. The average ring width of the samples ranges from 2.0 mm to 5.0 mm which suggests that the timbers were probably derived from trees found in a relatively open environment rather than dense woodland where competition would have been more severe, resulting in a slower growth rate (i.e. narrower rings).

Four samples were unsuitable for further analysis as they contained fewer than 50 growth rings. None of the six measured ring sequences were found to crossmatch reliably with each other. Consequently each individual sequence was compared with an extensive range of reference chronologies; they were also tested against various undated ring sequences from Yorkshire and Humberside. No conclusive results were obtained.

It is not possible to determine precisely why the timbers from Kinsley moat do not date. The absence of intra-site crossmatching and the relative shortness of the ring sequences must be major contributory reasons. Such problems are by no means rare during the analysis of small, potentially multiphase, assemblages of timber. For example similar problems have been encountered with the fifteenth and sixteenth-century bridge timbers from Wood Hall Moated Manor site, about 14 km north-east of Kinsley Moat; the timbers were of a similar nature to those from Kinsley in that they also were derived from relatively fast grown (i.e. wide ringed) young trees.

It is important to note, finally, that the absence of intra-site crossmatching cannot be taken as positive evidence for the timbers being associated with different substructures, or with different construction or repair phases.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The recording of the Kinsley timbers was arranged by Ian Sanderson of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, and by John Etté of English Heritage. It was carried out by Jon Prudhoe and Ian Sanderson. English Heritage funded the dendrochronological analysis which was undertaken in the Research School of Archaeology and Archaeological Science, University of Sheffield.

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HENRY MAISTER OF GOTHENBURG: HIS LIFE AND TIMES

By John R. Ashton

Göteborg! I believe it is true that no other city in Scandinavia owes so much to British influences. The history of the city, since it was founded in 1621, has been interwoven with that of Britain. Its times of prosperity and those of adversity have been linked to events across the North Sea.

The expansion of Sweden's foreign trade had been limited by the lack of a port on the west coast. Several attempts had been made over decades to site towns nearer the mouth of the River Göta. These had failed as a result of the wars with the Danes and the Norwegians who occupied the whole of the west coast of Sweden. Early in the 1600s the Swedes gained control of the land round the estuary of the River Göta. The Swedish crown then started negotiations with Dutch commercial interests to induce them to establish an entrepôt there. After much hard bargaining, a charter was agreed and signed in 1621 and Gustavus II Adolphus, the king, gave orders to start building a city to be called Göteborg. A court of aldermen was empowered to govern the infant city consisting of three Dutchmen, three Germans, two Scots and four Swedes. Amongst the names of the earliest magistrates we find Anthony Knipe and Hans Spalding. Knipe is not an uncommon name in Yorkshire and Spalding would appear to have links with Lincolnshire.

In 1635, only 14 years after the founding of Göteborg — spelled Gottenberg in early English documents — trade with Britain was becoming so important that some merchants, mostly of British origin, established an English trading company. Acting together, these merchants, including Anthony Knipe, Thomas Horner, John Wright, John Wilkinson and Jacob Almond, were able to press for a lower rate of duty on the export of iron, timber and tar. In 1653, Whitelock, Cromwell's ambassador to Queen Christina of Sweden, visited Göteborg. He wrote in his diary, 'Thirty years ago the city was poor with little trade ... now it has some beautiful brick houses which I don't think will last long as structurally they are badly built. The city has now a good trade and, considering its size, quite a population. There are two Lutheran churches and a Dutch Reformed church. It is governed by three presidents, a city clerk and twelve councillors'. Towards the latter part of the 1600s, British merchants managed to unsettle the commercial dominance of the Dutch. During the 1640s 50% cent of Swedish exports went to Holland and only about 10% to England and Scotland; 30 years later these export figures had been reversed.

The rebuilding of London after the Great Fire of 1666 created a demand for timber from Sweden, mainly shipped through the port of Göteborg. Sir William Warren, a London alderman, one of the greatest traders of his day, had an intimate knowledge of the Swedish timber industry and seemingly had spent some time in Sweden. He became a friend of Samuel Pepys, the diarist, who was secretary of the Navy Board. Through this friendship Warren obtained an order from the Navy Board for 40,000 Scandinavian deals, i.e. planks about 6 ft in length. Warren's largest order, however, was in 1669 when

he supplied the Navy Board with 1,000 'Gottenburg masts'. Thus the Great Fire of London and the expansion of the English Navy helped substantially the increasing prosperity of Gothenburg. Records show ships called regularly from their home ports of Hull, Plymouth, Newcastle, London, Bristol, Sunderland and Aberdeen. Sweden imported more and more from England and Scotland, mostly woollen goods, tin, lead, coal and herring. But this prosperity was not to last. In 1690 a great fire destroyed a major part of the city and many inhabitants became homeless. Trade declined and the families of those without work, it is recorded, often died of hunger. To add to the distress the city was struck by plague. Over the years the merchants of British birth living in Gothenburg had supported stranded British seamen and other countrymen in need by contributing to the English Poor Box. These merchants were apparently associated in a factory. Factory, in this case, means a body of merchants or agents or factors carrying on business in any one place abroad who are governed by their own regulations for mutual support and assistance and for protection against encroachment by the people of the country in which they live. Probably the earlier English trading company eventually became the Factory and one of the members was Henry Maister. By the end of the 1690s the Poor Box was said to be 'decayed'. Who said this? It was Henry Maister in the dedication written by him stating that 'by mutual agreement of the factory' the Poor Box should be re-established.

Henry Maister, the seventh son of Henry and Ann Maister, was baptised on the 6th December, 1674, at Holy Trinity Church, Hull. He was thus only 25 years old when he wrote the dedication reviving the English Poor Box. But by that time he must have been well-established in Gothenburg for he influenced the Burgomaster, Gerard Braun Johan, to head the list of subscribers to the Poor Box. As his father, who died in April, 1699, had been the Deputy Governor of the Hamburg Eastlands Company and Henry appeared to be fluent in German, it is likely that he reached Gothenburg after spending some years in Germany. One thing is certain, he was a deeply religious man. During the first three decades of the 1700s, he was the most important English merchant in Gothenburg. Henry — or Heinrich, as he was called by his Swedish and German friends — never became a burgher of Gothenburg, as this involved taking an oath of allegiance to the Swedish Crown. In spite of that he became a Trade Commissioner, a prestigious title. The records of the English Factory in Gothenburg help us to understand what manner of man Henry Maister was. These date continuously from 1699 to the present day. The oldest Factory document is the dedication written by Maister:

'Gods mercy be with the Honoured & most affectionate Christian reader.

In regard some of his Brittish & Irish Royall Majesties Subjects, residing in this Cittie of Gothenbrough, have out off pure Christian Condolence & Charity with another Considered and well wheighed, how that not only such of said Crown's subjects shippes & vessells that come consigned to them in commission, but such as they shall have themselves for their proper accompt, have resolved, that for the maintaining those there sick and indigent countrymen now allready here, or for the future may happen to come hither, be agreed that a certayn summe be ordered out of each shipp into the off old here erected Brittish (but now decayed) poor Box, for the relief of all such poor brittish subjects might be advanced, as is further to be seen by the mutuall agreement the factory has made & subscribed the first March 1699.

Who likewise live in that hope, that other strangers & travellers wch this booke shall be presented unto, will please to shew their Liberality in bestowing somewhat, to the purpose intended.'

And so the Poor Box was rehabilitated. The members of the Factory mutually agreed to make a levy on every ship of their own or which they had chartered entering the port

of Gothenburg and to encourage other British merchants to do likewise, placing the moneys received to the credit of the Poor Box. The Poor Box accounts for the first years tell us something about the flow of trade between Gothenburg and England. It can be seen that very few ships came in winter when the harbour was ice-bound. A boost for English shipping was in 1700, when Charles XII of Sweden, then at war with Denmark and Norway, requisitioned all Swedish ships for war transports. In that year 88 English ships called at Gothenburg and the levies received enriched the Poor Box. The situation changed drastically in 1701, when England became involved in war with France and Spain, as there was almost a complete withdrawal of English ships trading in Gothenburg during the years 1703–1709 — and no levies. The Poor Box was again nearly depleted as, in spite of the lack of income, payments were still being made to English citizens in distress, as shown by an entry of 1st August, 1705: ‘To a poor sailor who was shipwrecked in W Robinson 2 dalers’.

The early years of the eighteenth century were lean ones for the merchants of Gothenburg. Henry Maister, however, appears to have maintained his position as one of the principal merchants in the city. There is some evidence of this in a case before the Wreck Commissioners in Gothenburg in 1704. Captain Anders Olsson Kijwijk and his crew, of the Gothenburg-based ship *St Peter*, reported his ship had stranded on the coast of Denmark at Skagen and become a total loss. It was a miracle that no lives had been lost. Henry Maister and John Olbers, the charterers of the *St Peter*, were not satisfied with the captain’s story. The members of the crew were summoned to give evidence on oath as to what really happened. Under oath, the first mate gave the true account of the loss of the ship and cargo. The other members of the crew confirmed his evidence. It was true the *St Peter* had gone aground at Skagen. The fishermen of Skagen seeing their plight had come out in boats and rescued the crew and, at the same time, they had looted the cargo. Not satisfied with their gains they had bodily searched the crew to ensure they did not miss anything of value. Was it a heavy loss for Henry Maister or was he insured?

There is an indication of the social standing enjoyed by Henry Maister in the registers of Kristine Church (the German Church) for it is recorded that he was one of the godfathers at the baptism of Christian Baggens’s son on the 14th January, 1705, together with Major-General Reinhold von Fersen and Volrat Tham, a prosperous merchant and a name remembered even today in Gothenburg. On subsequent occasions Henry Maister was the godfather to the children of other prominent citizens. Although there seems to have been little traffic in English ships between 1703 and 1709, Henry Maister must have continued his export and import business in Swedish and foreign bottoms. (After the Act of Union in 1707, Swedish records no longer distinguish between England and Scotland, although it was not until 1733 that the English Poor Box became the British Poor Box.) Commerce in British ships was resumed in 1710 when it is recorded that 30 ships paid levies into the Poor Box. Amongst the names of the captains who paid these levies in the years 1710–1715 are Jn Rontree, Robert Empson, Sam Stockton, Robert Hunter and George Bielby — all names which occur in the Maister Day Book. From 1716 to 1718, an embargo was placed by the British Government on trade with Sweden due to the state of war existing there and the menace of privateers in the North Sea. In the Hull Calendar of Ancient Deeds, Letters etc there is a copy of a letter dated the 26th May, 1712 from the Mayor and Aldermen to Sir Wm St Quinton and William Maister concerning the provision of a convoy for Hull ships, which is some evidence of the hazards to be met by ships in the North Sea. The William Maister mentioned was the M.P. for Hull and the brother of Henry Maister.

Embargo or not — and if I have dated the details in the Maister Day Book correctly — the Maisters were still trading between Gothenburg and Hull as these entries show:

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| 1714 | Shipt on ye Providence, Robt Hunter, master for Gottenberg for Henry Maister: a 20 Gall cask of ale 2 casks qt a 2th fine Oates a Box of Hartichoakes 4 12 yards of flannel |
| 1716 December 5 | Invoice of 200 pieces lead shipt on board Ann, Robt Mirfield, master, for Gottenberg for Acct Henry Maister |
| 1717 July 27 | 2016 Barrs Charity, Robt Empson, Gottenber. Sent per Jn Sanderson to Henry Maister Gottenberg: 20 Gall cask Mid Beer 20 Gall cask Ale Mercurys for August & Septembers |

In 1718, the Danish fleet under the command of Admiral Tordenskiold, while blockading the port of Gothenburg, allowed a British ship with a cargo of iron bars to pass peacefully through the blockade. In a personal letter to Henry Maister he explained that, as Denmark and Great Britain were at peace and there existed a commercial treaty between the two countries, he did not intend to hinder any trade in which they were involved. This letter implies that Henry Maister had an interest in the cargo of iron bars.

The statistical sources during the reign of Charles XII (1697–1718) are sparse. The military ventures of Charles XII impoverished the country and marked the end of Sweden as a great power. However, contrary to what is generally believed, Gothenburg was not hit too badly by the economic depression as trade from the ports on the east coast of Sweden, due to the war with Russia which made sailing in the Baltic hazardous, was diverted to the city. Another factor which helped was the War of the Spanish Succession with France, Spain, Holland, some German states and Great Britain involved. There was a great demand for Swedish iron, exports reaching a high point in 1713 of 12,000 tons. Henry Maister was, no doubt, engaged in this trade as he had sound commercial relationships with merchants in Hamburg and Amsterdam.

In the Gothenburg Land Register it is recorded that on the 3rd December, 1719, Henry Maister bought a corner plot of land on which there was a house of brick (Fig. 1). He paid 8,000 daler silvermynt. Judging from the names and the ranks of his neighbours it was a desirable property in close proximity to the harbour. Wishing to develop his property, Henry Maister planned to erect a wooden building, probably a warehouse, adjoining a gunpowder store which bordered his plot. He was forbidden to do this by the Governor of the Province. Henry Maister appealed against this decision through the offices of Secretary von Meyden, pleading that he was being restricted from using the property for his business purposes. He questioned also whether such a gunpowder store should be situated amidst dwellings in the heart of the city. As it was potentially dangerous he offered to pay for the gunpowder store to be moved to a safer place. The Governor wasted no time in accepting Maister's offer and, at the same time, decreed that the city magistrates should contribute towards the cost of the removal.

In 1720, there is an entry in the Maister Day Book 'Invoice of 149 of Malt on Acct of my uncle Henry Maister and consigned to himself.' Would it be wrong to imagine that Henry was going to brew or distil the malt to celebrate with his friends the acquisition of his new home and business premises? There were other reasons for a celebration as trade was brisk — 32,628 bars of iron were exported from Gothenburg to Great Britain



Fig. 1. Gothenburg in the early eighteenth century. Little Market Square, where Henry Maister lived, is in the far distance to the left of the Grand Canal.

in 1720; in 1725 the figure had risen to 48,490 and was even higher in 1735, 60,399. There is an entry in the Poor Box records (Fig. 2) which states: '31 December, 1727. Rec'd from Mr Henry Maister for 5 ships in 1727 10 daler silvermynt. Rec'd from Hugh Ross according to his Acct dated 31 December, 1727 the Ballance of the Poor Money in his hand 8 daler silvermynt.' Henry Maister owned or had chartered five ships on which he paid a levy to the Poor Box. Hugh Ross was the Treasurer of the Poor Box in 1727.

In 1727, Henry Maister was the only surviving original member of the Factory and it seems that he had sole charge of the Poor Box for 27 years. Nothing is known about the other members of the Factory in 1699 — John Gardner, William Stephenson, George Benson and John Arnand. It was in 1727 that other names, apart from Henry Maister, connected with Hull merchant houses occur in the records of the Poor Box, Hugh Ross, John Chambers, Thomas and Sam Mould, William Maister, William Henworth, Thomas Grundy, George Ross, Robert Ridout and J. Wilkinson. The name Chambers is particularly interesting as he was the father of Sir William Chambers, born in Gothenburg in 1726. William and his brother, John, were employed by the Swedish East India Company in Canton, China.

The register of ratepayers in 1730 tells us something about the household of Henry Maister. Apart from himself, there lived at his address Vincent Beckman, book-keeper with a wage of 50 daler silvermynt, a housekeeper Brita Rodenstrom, Sven Assarson and Olof Witting, male general servants, and two maidservants, Ingeborg Simonsdotter and Catarina Andersdottor.

| Poor Box | | | £ s d | |
|--------------------|----|---|-------|--------|
| 1727 | | Balance Transported from Jo. 17 | 62 | 7 |
| Decem ^r | 31 | recd from Mr. Honey Maister for 5 Shill ^{ings} in 1727 | 10 | = |
| x | | recd from Mr. Hugh Ross according to his acc ^{ts} dated 31 st December 1727 the Balance of Poor money in his hand | 8 | = |
| 1728 | | | | |
| Feb ^r | 31 | Recd from Mr. Lars Jacobson according to his account pro Anno 1728 | 191 | = |
| | | Recd the Balance of Mr. Chambers acc ^{ts} pro Anno 1727 | 1 | 4 |
| | | | Sum | 272 11 |
| 1729 | | By the Balance recd from Mr. Tho ^s Howld | 242 | 11 |
| January | 6 | By Cash recd of Mr. Lars Jacobson as his acc ^t for 1729 | 201 | = |
| | | By B ^o of Mr. James Anderson | 58 | 12 |
| | | By B ^o of Miss Maister & Herworth | 25 | = |
| | | Carry'd to other side | 526 | 23 |

Fig. 2. English Factory Poor Box, Gothenburg: entries in accounts 1727-29.

On the 20th January 1739 Maister wrote his letter of resignation from what he refers to as 'ye Brittish Poor Box'. It is apparent that he had a strong view that it should not be managed by Swedish burghers. It reads:

January 20th 1739

As I find my Age and infirmitys will not suffer me any longer to Act as a member of ye Brittish poor Box I could not take my Leave without recommending the same to those now considered as also to their Successors that it always be Maintained on the same footing it has hitherto Existed Viz: As a Brittish poor box and that no Swedish Burgher on any Accot. what ever be admitted in the Managment of sd. Poor Box As has been jointly resolved in the foregoing Article.

Hen. Maister'

Within three weeks Henry Maister was dead. He was buried in Kristine Church on the 11th February, 1739. At the hour of his funeral the bells of the city churches were

tollled. In the church register it states that he accepted death calmly and that it was his wish that his name should be remembered through bequests to the church and to the poor. He exhorted the rich to do likewise. The residue of his estate was left to his nephew, William Maister, then living in Stockholm.

Eight years before his death, Henry Maister witnessed a major change in the commercial life of Gothenburg for in 1731 the Swedish Parliament granted a 15-year charter to three men, one of whom was Colin Campbell, to form a Swedish East India Company based in Gothenburg. The Swedes had little experience of trading in the Far East but Colin Campbell had. He attracted into the service of the Company Englishmen and Scotsmen with similar experience. The result was that the British community in Gothenburg expanded and increased its influence. In 1740, Carl Linnaeus, the famous botanist, wrote of Gothenburg 'The town is lively with merchants, sailors, soldiers, foreigners and people from all over the kingdom. Business is in full flow so that the townsfolk prosper.'

Although a Swedish Lutheran church had existed in London since 1673, members of the English Reformed Church were forbidden to worship publicly in Sweden. Indeed, John Robinson, English ambassador to Sweden, wrote that the severity initiated by the Swedes in 1695 in enforcing against the English the laws of religious conformity which hitherto had penalised only Calvinists and Roman Catholics had caused the enforced departure of many English merchants. There is a brief record of the existence of an English congregation in Gothenburg in 1692 but it was short-lived.

Henry Maister, being a religious man, probably worshipped privately with co-religionists. The only way he could do so publicly was by attending a Lutheran church, Kristine church. In 1741, a Royal Decree was issued granting to the members of the English Reformed Church the privilege of free religious worship and permission to build their own churches. William Maister, living in Stockholm, was one of those who petitioned King Frederick for this right. Uncle and nephew very likely discussed the possibility of the British having the right to worship publicly. In 1747, a room in Gothenburg was rented and fitted with 18 pews. The Rev. George Nash arrived from England. Colin Campbell paid for his journey and his salary.

St Andrew's (the present English church) was consecrated in 1857. Within its walls, occupying a prominent place, is the ancient Factory Poor Box. It was partly from its funds that the building of St Andrew's was financed. And today, in its 299th year, the Factory, consisting of 12 members, is responsible for the maintenance of the church building. Early in March each year a Founders' Service is held to honour the memory of earlier members of the Factory Poor Box. Henry Maister's dedication from 1699 is read as an integral part of the service. 'The good that men do is often interred with their bones.' Nothing can be further from the truth with regard to Henry Maister. His work lives on.

The annual accounts and decisions of the British Factory Poor Box have been scrupulously kept from 1699 to the present day. Year by year these have been submitted for approval by the members and a new Treasurer elected. Amongst the list of Treasurers can be found these merchants from Yorkshire: Mould, Chambers, Williamson, Lundie, Hall and Wilson – and there are others. This article is based on these sources and others in Landsarkivet (County Archives) in Gothenburg.

NESBIT HALL: THE OLD BANK HOUSE

By Ruth Strong

Nesbit Hall (SE 214 321) stands on a gently sloping south-facing Pudsey hillside, anciently known as 'The Banks', just three miles from the centre of Bradford and only slightly more from the centre of Leeds. Yet its setting, amongst fine old beech trees and overlooking Tong Hall estate and the deep Fulneck valley, is utterly rural. The impression from the south front and the sides is of an eighteenth-century stone built gentleman's house in the classical style, with three bays, the two outer bays each with a pediment containing a blind, bulls-eye window. Today it is one of the finest houses in the district. Yet it was not always so. In the seventeenth century, as a fairly typical yeoman's house, it was smaller (or at least had less hearths) than half a dozen or so other Pudsey houses. Clues to earlier houses on the site lie in the jigsaw of stones and bricks of varying vintages on the back wall, and old timbers encased in some interior walls. The history of Bank House over the last four hundred years in many ways mirrors that of the adjacent community, initially rooted in the land and cloth manufacturing but latterly becoming largely residential.

BANK HOUSE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The documented history begins in 1592 when Henry Smythe, a Pudsey yeoman, sold the Bank House estate to a Bradford clothier, George Holdsworth.¹ The property then included the six acre Ing Close 'under the House' and thirteen other closes reaching northwards towards the present Height House. To the east it covered the Fall Ings and Fall Necke, land which was to be bought a hundred and fifty years later by the Moravian brethren for their settlement which they subsequently named Fulneck.

George Holdsworth moved to the Bank House where for the first part of the seventeenth century the family continued to make cloth. When George died in 1611 his bequests included two tenters (on which the fulled cloth was stretched) and walker shears (used to 'finish' or shear the cloth).² And his daughter-in-law Susan, dying in 1665, left a shear board and walker shears.³ Yet throughout the seventeenth century the Holdsworths continued to acquire land⁴ so that by the end of the century the estate was the second largest in the Pudsey township.⁵ Then the family apparently dispensed with cloth making, becoming entirely dependent on agriculture. By this time Joseph Holdsworth had built a windmill near the house, although it was apparently only used for grinding seeds for horse feed.⁶ The Bank House estate was then producing a wide variety of crops: hay, wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans and 'pease'.⁷

1. Ch. A. Federer, (ed.) 'West Riding Cartulary 15', *Bradford Antiquary* NS 1, 384-86.

2. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (BIHR), Diocesan wills, 31.564, will of Joseph Holdsworth.

3. *Ibid.* 48.382, will of Susan Holdsworth.

4. Yorkshire Archaeological Society MSS, MD 290, Box 10, Court Rolls of Crossley Manor, 1668 (for example).

5. 'Touching the Rates and Values of Lands and the way of Assessing in the Morley Division 1692/1693', *Yorkshire County Magazine* 3, 112.

6. Y.A.S. DD 12.26, Calverley Mill Suit, deposition of Sarah Lambert.

7. BIHR, CP.H.2491.

Twice in the mid seventeenth century the house was divided to accommodate two generations of the Holdsworth family. In both 1664 and 1666 Joseph Holdsworth was taxed for two hearths and his widowed mother, Susan, for one hearth.⁸ Susan Holdsworth then occupied a parlour, where she slept, a buttery, used for storage, and a chamber, where amongst the 'hustlement' was an ark (a large chest normally used for storing grain or oatmeal). Susan was looked after by a faithful maid to whom she bequeathed 'one red searge coat'. By the 1672 Hearth Tax Susan had died and, as Joseph Holdsworth was then taxed for three hearths, the house must have been restored to a single dwelling. Two years later, however, he was again taxed for just two hearths and his son, another Joseph, had moved into the single hearthed section.⁹

Joseph Holdsworth's probate inventory of 1697 shows that although the house had only three hearths it was not small.¹⁰ The main fireplace was in the Housebody, the main living room, where the cooking was done over the great open hearth around which were all the implements of contemporary cookery: 'a fire poke, a paire of tongs, a paire of Briggs, an end Iron, a fire Shovel, one Warming pan, 4 spitts, a Jack, a striking bill, a shredding knife, an Iron Ladle, Two basteing spoones, a brass scuiner, an Iron spittle, a beefe forke, a prigge, a pair of pot hookes ... a salt pye and a pair of hand bellows.'

There was a separate Oven House. This would be away from the main dwelling as the Bank House at this time was almost certainly timber-framed, of lath and plaster, and therefore vulnerable to fire. The second fireplace was in the South Parlour, a comfortable 'bed-sit' for Joseph and his wife, Sarah with red curtains round the bed and 'Window Hangings', the latter an unusual refinement for the time. Here in the master's room was kept the linen, a relatively valuable item, 'Four table cloths, two dozen and a half of napkins, three lin sheets, two course sheets and four pillow beares'. A third fireplace, along with a couple of tables and various buffits, was in 'the Low House' presumably used by the servants.

Joseph's two daughters, Susannah and Mary, probably slept in the unheated Upper Parlour where there was a bedstead and a trundle bed which could be pushed under the other bed during the day. In the Washing House the ubiquitous 'hustlement' included two swine yokes (used to prevent pigs squeezing through hedges) and in the Buttery a 'line wheel' (for spinning flax). There were also two Milkhouses containing equipment for butter and cheese making. Upstairs were three chambers where, along with the beds, was a side saddle, a kneading trough, an ark, various chests and five corn sacks. Outside in the barn and fields were three cows and a calf (which would more than keep the family in dairy products), two mares (complete with gear for harness and riding) and a 'hogpig' (an efficient means of turning surplus food into a variety of cheap meals). Joseph Holdsworth was one of few local men to have books other than the Bible. In fact he was remembered as 'a man of Good Reputation and substance' who was frequently employed in Draweing Wills and other Writeings for his Neighbours'.¹¹ Joseph Holdsworth also possessed a crossbow, probably by then little more than a family heirloom, and three old guns, useful not only for game but also for protection in as isolated a dwelling as Bank House.

⁸ Public Record Office. E.179.210.393, Hearth Tax, Lady Day 1664; E.179.210.394A, Hearth Tax, Lady Day 1666.

⁹ *Ibid.* E.179.262.13, Hearth Tax, Lady Day 1674.

¹⁰ BIHR, Pontefract deanery wills, May 1697, will and inventory of Joseph Holdsworth.

¹¹ PRO. C5.252.31, evidence of John Thornton.

BANK HOUSE IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Following Joseph Holdsworth's death in 1697, the estate was divided between his two daughters, Susannah and Mary, but subsequently descended to John Holdsworth, a maltster, who moved into Bank House. For the next hundred years malting was to be an important part of the Bank House economy. At a time when home brewed beer was a staple in the local diet malting was a lucrative occupation. Like drysalting (the supply of dyes and oils for cloth manufacturing) but unlike cloth manufacturing itself (in the Pudsey district at least), it was an occupation which frequently enabled a relatively gentlemanly lifestyle.

John Holdsworth let much of the land whilst occupying a maltkiln and horse mill (presumably associated with malting) elsewhere in Pudsey.¹² In 1712/1713 he sold the estate, for £700, to John Darnborough, a skinner of Tong, who built a maltkiln in the grounds for his son-in-law, Christopher Scott, and in 1729 granted the whole of the Bank House estate to his own son John who was also a maltster.¹³

A map of c. 1744 shows the Bank House, apparently of three bays, with a chimney at each end and the suggestion of an outshot at the back.¹⁴ Below, and at right angles to the west end of the house, is a small building with a chimney. Was this the Low House mentioned in Joseph Holdsworth's inventory? A late nineteenth-century observer describes 'an old doorway of much older date than the present house' then surviving in the grounds, perhaps all that remained of the Low House.¹⁵ To the east of the Bank House, the map shows a building with no chimney but with a large doorway in the centre, presumably the barn (Fig. 1).

John Darnborough junior enlarged and developed his estate, but much had to be mortgaged as security for a debt which reached £3,400. In 1755 he sold the property to another local maltster, Richard Farrer.

CLAUD NISBET AT BANK HOUSE

Richard Farrer lived at Bank House just five years before selling the estate to Claud Nisbet, a London merchant with a brewing business in Holbeck near Leeds. Whilst in London Claud Nisbet had joined the United Brethren, otherwise known as Moravians, a pre-Lutheran protestant church, members of which had come to England in the 1730s. After the Moravians began to build their settlement of Fulneck in Pudsey, Claud Nisbet was a frequent visitor. He 'readily advanced' money to the Moravians, becoming involved in their cloth manufacturing and merchanting business.¹⁶ The Elders, however, doubted his financial credibility and soon decreed that the Moravians' affairs should be separated from Claud Nisbet 'at all costs'.¹⁷ Nevertheless Claud Nisbet still wanted to live near Fulneck and, in September 1760, bought the Bank House estate, soon moving in with his wife and three children, Benigna, Claudie and Jane.¹⁸

The Nisbets immediately exploited the situation by urging the Moravians to look after their young son, Claudie, during their frequent visits to London. The arrangement was not successful, little Claudie's behaviour being 'in no way agreeable'. Subsequently Claud

¹² Thoresby Society MSS, Batt Coll. no. 111.

¹³ West Yorkshire County Archive Service (WYCAS) (Leeds), accession 2537, 1830 Abstract of Title of Richard Clayton to Bankhouse estate. This source is used for much of the subsequent text.

¹⁴ York Minster Library, Hailstone collection, box 6.1, 'Survey of the Manour of Pudsey', n.d. c. 1744.

¹⁵ Simeon Rayner, *The History and Antiquities of Pudsey* (1887), 206.

¹⁶ Rev. J. Plitt, *The Brethren's Congregation in England* (1838), 1, Dec 1746: Fulneck archives, Fulneck diary 2.1.1751.

¹⁷ John Rylands Library, Manchester, P.92072, MS 1054, Provincial Synod, 13/17.12.1759.

¹⁸ The remainder of this section and much of the following section is based on: Fulneck archives, Fulneck Elders Conference, Pudsey Diary, Trade Conference.

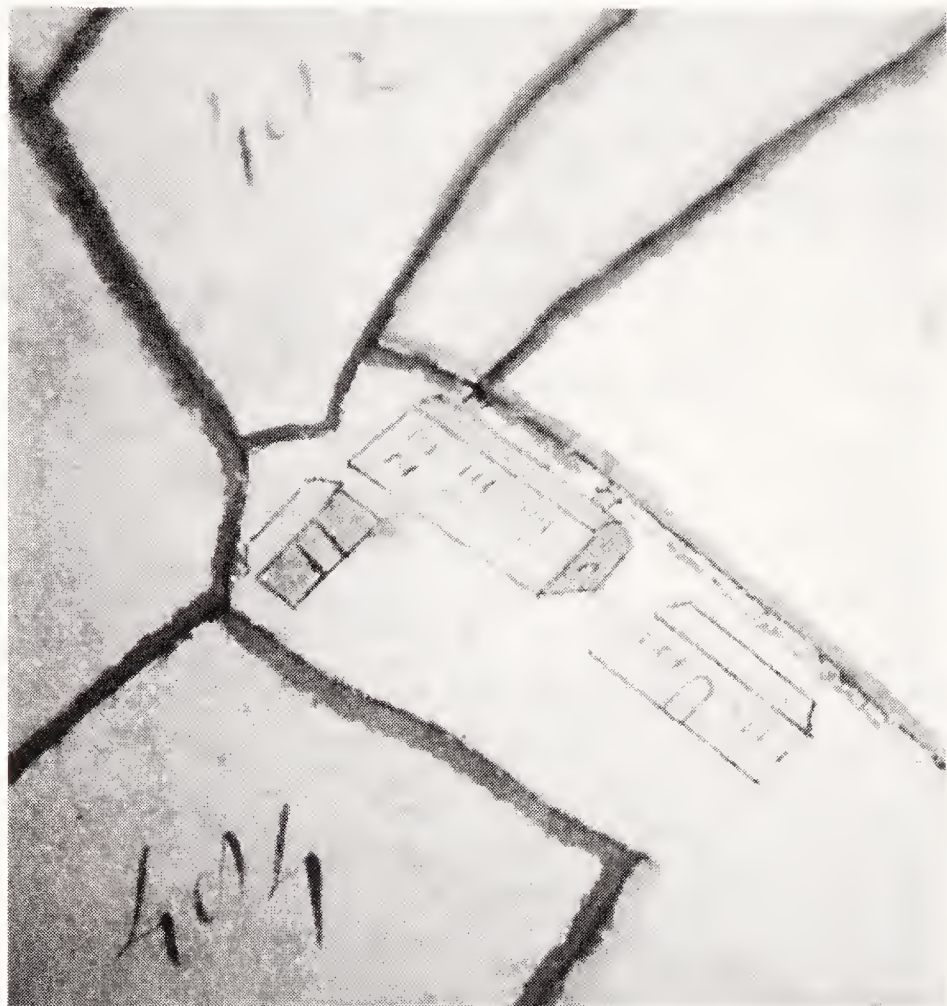


Fig. 1. Bank House buildings c. 1744. (York Minster Library, Hailstone collection, box 6.1, 'Survey of the Manour of Pudsey', n.d. c. 1744).

Nisbet's brief stay at Bank House was to be overtaken by tragedy. In the spring of 1761 all three Nisbet children developed smallpox, the youngest, 'little Jeny', 'a beloved child' of five years, died being buried in the Moravians' burial ground. About this time Claud senior too became ill. A visit to 'Buckstone' (Buxton) 'did him no service at all' and, as he continued to decline, a rota of Moravian brethren kept a nightly watch at his bedside, singing verses and, as he worsened, taking him Holy Communion. His death, on 16 August, was announced by the blowing of horns in accordance with Moravian custom. A fortnight later, Claud's widow gave birth to a son, Thomas Alexander. It had been quite an eventful five months!

THE MORAVIANS AT BANK HOUSE

Mrs Nisbet returned to London immediately following her husband's death, the Bank House property being mortgaged to provide for her and the three surviving children. The children soon returned to be educated at Fulneck. Meanwhile Mrs Nisbet allowed the Moravians to use Bank House as an annex to their settlement and some Single Sisters moved in. As Claud Nisbet had died financially indebted to the Moravians, it seems the Moravians occupied Bank House rent free as there is no record of their paying rent for the house.

In January 1762 the house was broken into by three thieves. The Sisters ran to neighbouring Moravian cottages for help and eventually one of the intruders was caught. There was then the problem of what to do with him as robbery was a capital offence and the Moravians were reluctant to be instrumental in sending him to the gallows. Yet as it was also an offence to let him go free, they dispatched him with a letter to a Leeds magistrate requesting that he should 'list' for a soldier. One wonders whether the magistrate ever received the letter!

Over the next half century the Moravians used the Bank House for various purposes. In the late 1760s it seems to have been occupied as a 'nursing home' where sick Moravians were cared for by a resident brother and sister. When the widow Longbottom pleaded

to have her sickly daughter to live with her she was advised that they should both move into Bank House. Later the house was divided into apartments, residents bringing their own servants, as in 1770 when a small suite was specially furnished to receive a visiting notable Moravian, Br Barham, and his family. When, in the 1770s, the Moravians built a 'bath house' in the valley below the house, visitors to the bath were also periodically accommodated at Bank House. This 'bath house' was fed by spring water, optimistically believed to have medicinal properties similar to that at Ilkley Spa.

The maltkiln in the Bank House grounds was leased from the Nisbet family. Some initial capital was secured on loan, Joshua Hargraves appointed maltster and 'the old man who is in the Kiln' (presumably the labourer) installed in 'the front dining room' of Bank House. The intention was for the Fulneck Congregation and the Fulneck diaconies (businesses) to share two thirds of the profit and for the remainder to be returned to the business.

The venture was perpetually short of finance and, when a 'team' (a cart with 'three good horses') became a necessity, it was clear that the enterprise, rather than being an asset to the Congregation, had become a financial liability. From 1770, therefore, it was run as a private concern, initially with Joshua Hargraves continuing as maltster although Benigna Nisbet's first husband, Daniel Shepley, also seems to have been involved.

There is a tradition that it was Claud Nisbet who rebuilt the Bank House in the present classical style. This belief seems to have originated with John Cliff, the owner of the house in the late nineteenth century, largely from the evidence of 'the graceful monogram of "C & J N 1761" cast in the conductors with (Claud Nisbet's) crest on each socket below'.¹⁹ Yet as Claud Nisbet died within a year of having purchased the house, and for much of this time was ill and financially pressured, it seems most unlikely that he was also engaged in a major rebuilding enterprise. Moreover, there is no hint in the Moravian diaries of such an upheaval during Claud's eleven months' residence, although he was constantly visited by the Moravians.

Perhaps it was John Darnborough, who owned the Bank House in the 1740s and 1750s, who transformed it into the elegant Georgian building of today. It has been claimed that the same architect, Edward Graves of Newark, was responsible for both the rebuilt Bank House and for the Moravians' Grace Hall, the building incorporating the chapel (1746-1748).²⁰ The present Nesbit Hall (the Bank House) has many internal features (including the long staircase window, certain doorways, and decorative arches in the corridors) similar to those in Grace Hall, and in the Moravians' Brethren's and Sister's Houses (1748-1752). John Darnborough was closely associated with the Moravians at this time. It was just when he was running deeper into debt, possibly through his over-ambitious building activities.

Another tradition which is difficult to equate with the known facts is that the young Claud Nisbet disappeared mysteriously soon after his father's death and that his remains may even now be found in the 'lower cellars' of Bank House.²¹ Yet Claud is known to have visited Fulneck in 1785, nearly a quarter of the century after his father died. And surely, as the Moravians occupied Bank House continually for over forty years, any strange circumstance would have been recorded in their very detailed diaries.

¹⁹ Simeon Rayner, *The History and Antiquities of Pudsey* (1887), 206.

²⁰ W. Cudworth, *Fulneck and Tong Historical Account and Description* (Leeds n.d.), 6. A 'Mr Bottomley of Halifax' has also been cited as the architect for Fulneck's Grace Hall. J. P. Libbey, *Celebration of the Centenary Jubilee of the Congregations of the United Brethren* (1855), 19.

²¹ Simeon Rayner, *The History and Antiquities of Pudsey* (1887), 206.

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Moravians' occupancy of Bank House ended in 1804 when Benigna Nisbet and her second husband William Cresswell leased the heavily mortgaged Bank House and two thirds of the land to John Clayton, a Bradford drysalter. The term was for fifteen years at an annual rent of £62 10s 0d. The elegant messuage house had then become a desirable, 'large and commodious' residence in its own right.

Seven years later John Clayton bought the property for £2,120, included in the sale being the maltkiln, fourteen acres, including two acres allotted under Pudsey's recent Parliamentary Enclosure Act and 'half a pew in Pudsey chapel' (i.e. Pudsey's anglican chapel of ease).

After John Clayton's death in 1816, his widow divided the house,²² her son Richard occupying a sitting room, two kitchens and four 'lodging rooms'. Richard Clayton was to play a leading role in Pudsey affairs being Chairman of the Board of Surveyors, Poor Law Guardian and Chairman of the local Parliamentary Reform Association. He was also a subscriber in 1836 to the Pudsey-Wortley Turnpike Trust. And, although he was not above shooting the odd hare on Major Tempest's Tong Hall estate across the valley, he eventually won the title of 'gent'. On his mother's death Richard Clayton apparently restored the house to a single dwelling, where in 1841 he was living with his wife and a young house servant. The couple lived well, numerous prints decorated the walls, there was a good library and a well stocked wine cellar.²³ The maltkiln was then probably occupied by Richard's brother, John Hutchinson Clayton, a maltster living nearby who also worked the Bankhouse land, possibly growing barley for his own use.

On Richard's death in 1843 the house passed to another brother, James, who leased it to 'Messrs Parkinson & Mitchell' of the neighbouring Bankhouse mill. In 1851 John Harper Mitchell, the young worsted manufacturer of Bankhouse mill, was living there with his mother and father, an apprentice, a house servant and a farm servant. About this time the house suffered a series of break-ins. On the final occasion John Mitchell managed to shoot one of the intruders who cried out 'I am shot' as blood splattered on the floor. Nevertheless all three got away. No problem in those days for a citizen taking the law into his own hands!²⁴

The Pudsey Enclosure map of 1817 shows Bank House with two projecting wings at the rear (as today) but also with the suggestion of a building built into the hillside to the north.²⁵ The 'Low House' below the Bank House remains, as does the barn to the east. By the time of the first Ordnance Survey map of the district the Low House has gone but the barn to the east survives, and there is a second barn type building to the west. The next 140 years saw little external change except for the disappearance of the barn east of the house.

THE BANK HOUSE BECOMES 'NESBIT HALL'

When in 1864 James Clayton sold the estate, the house was referred to as 'Bankhouse, otherwise known as Nesbit Hall', apparently the first time the name Nesbit Hall was used officially, 'Nesbit' replacing the much less pronounceable 'Nisbet'. The house was described as having 'extensive gardens, plantations and pleasure grounds'. However, the maltkiln, dry kiln and two barns were still there along with a stable, shed, cottage and

²². *Leeds Mercury*, 13.4.1816.

²³. BIHR, Pontefract deanery wills, Nov. 1843, will of Richard Clayton, gent.

²⁴. *Leeds Mercury* (Supplement), 28.7.1849.

²⁵. WYCAS (Leeds), Pudsey borough, Enclosure records.

about 11 acres.²⁶ William H. Greaves, a cloth merchant, was the buyer. In 1870 he put in a bid for the Nesbit Hall estate to be considered as a site for a Pudsey cemetery.²⁷ There were 11 possible locations of which the Nesbit Hall, at an asking price considered vastly inflated at £3,750, was said to be 'charmingly situated and clothed with timber'.

The bid was unsuccessful and in 1874 the estate was again for sale. The house then comprised a drawing room, dining room, breakfast room, kitchen, scullery, passage, two larders, six bedrooms, two dressing rooms, a bath room (this must have been one of the earliest bathrooms in the town) and two 'capital arched cellars'. Outside was a barn, a three stalled stable and a cowhouse for six cows, the land presumably being let as a dairy farm. The grounds were said to be suitable 'for private occupation or public pleasure'.²⁸ Perhaps the vendor was aware of the movement towards providing municipal parks: if not a cemetery why not a public park? The land was also recommended as suitable for speculative housing, a suggestion which providentially was not taken up.

The buyer was John Ryder, a wool merchant. He divided the house, occupying half himself, putting in new ranges and marble mantles in most of the rooms and relaying the hall with Minton tiles. He installed gas, probably at considerable expense for such a remote site, and filled his house with costly furniture, 'elegant toilet ware', Tudor bedsteads, valuable books and paintings, and a harmonium. Within six years, however, he was bankrupt and Nesbit Hall, then described as a mansion, complete with croquet lawn, was again on the market. This time a selling point was the valuable bed of coal, iron stone and fireclay cropping near the surface south of the house, eight acres of which it was claimed could be worked without damage to Nesbit Hall itself.²⁹ At auction the ten acre estate was withdrawn at £1,800, to be secured in 1885 by John Cliff of Leeds Fire Clay Company. Also involved in the purchase was Zacheriah Yewdall, cloth manufacturer of Calverley, whose family intermarried with the Cliffs.³⁰

John Cliff had come to know Nesbit Hall as a boy at the nearby Fulneck Boys' School when he determined that one day he would buy the house himself. Perhaps the estate's mineral potential also influenced his decision. Nesbit Hall's eventful history would also attract him as John Cliff was a dedicated antiquarian, being a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. He delighted in researching the Hall's history and quickly restored it to a single dwelling. It was probably John Cliff who lowered the ground floor windows, allowing the house maximum benefit from its southern aspect³¹ (Fig. 2).

In 1891 John Cliff, at 58 years old, was already retired and a widower. Living with him at Nesbit Hall and looked after by a young house servant were his four grown-up children, his son David (who apparently was not in the family business and later emigrated to South Africa) and three daughters, Maria, Sarah and Flora, one of whom published poetry said to be of 'a pure and lofty, but rather morbid and philosophical spirit'.³²

NESBIT HALL IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Perhaps John Cliff devoted more time to his antiquarianism pursuits than his economic situation allowed, as in 1895 he was obliged to raise £1,500 on his estate. At his death five years later, the property, then reduced to ten acres, was sold to Leeds Fire Clay Company for £2,750. Thereafter, for 35 years the house itself was let whilst the Company

²⁶. *Leeds Mercury*, 25.6.1864.

²⁷. WYCAS (Leeds), Pudsey borough, 5/1, Pudsey Burial Board Minute Book.

²⁸. *Pudsey and Stanningley News*, May 1874.

²⁹. *Ibid.* 26.11.1880.

³⁰. West Riding Registry of Deeds, Wakefield, 1885.31.475.287, 1885.31.477.288.

³¹. Simeon Rayner, *The History and Antiquities of Pudsey* (1887), 242.

³². *Pudsey and Stanningley News*, 14.9.1888.



Fig. 2. Nesbit Hall *c.* 1885. The windows have been lowered but the Ing 'under' the Hall has not yet been exploited for its minerals. The early nineteenth-century barn can be seen on the left.

extensively mined the Ing Close below the house, the close being transformed from a gently sloping, smooth pasture into an interesting wilderness of hillocks and dips, prolific of rose hips and blackberries, an excitingly tunnelled (and potentially dangerous) playground for local children.

In 1928 Nesbit Hall was the scene of yet another break-in. Mrs Dawson, an 83 year old widow living on her own, was bewildered by a woollen antimacassar thrown over her before being bound in a sheet and locked in a cupboard whilst the house was ransacked. Undeterred, the spirited old lady continued living on her own in the Hall where she died the following year.³³ Leeds Fire Clay Company sold the estate in 1936, since when it has had a number of private owners.

Over the last 250 years the land associated with the old Bank House has gradually been sold off and, until recently, only the Ing below the Hall remained. Now even that no longer belongs to Nesbit Hall but to the barn conversion to the west. The old house has seen many changes from when the Bank House was the centre of a large agricultural estate. Today agriculture, malting and fire clay extraction have all long since ceased and the Hall, denuded of its land, is purely residential. But with its gardens to the south and west the Hall retains its spectacular views and remains an imposing landmark to grace the lovely Fulneck Valley.

³³. *Ibid.* 6.7.1928.

VESSEY PASTURE; THE DEVELOPMENT OF A YORKSHIRE WOLD FARMSTEAD

By Colin Hayfield

A: INTRODUCTION

As in other parts of the country, the major agricultural changes of the last thirty years have seen a rapid decline in the fortunes of traditional farm buildings on the Yorkshire Wolds. Largely unsuitable for modern needs, they have either been swept away to make way for large modern grain silos and tractor sheds, or else they have been left empty to fall into decay and eventual ruin. The Wharram Research Project has, over the last ten years, become increasingly involved in the recording of Wold farmsteads as part of the project's landscape survey. This paper traces the origins and development of the buildings of one such farmstead, Vessey Pasture.

Vessey Pasture is a High Wold farm of 200 acres on the southern borders of Birdsall parish close to the north-west escarpment of the Wolds (Fig. 1). For the Yorkshire Wolds it is counted a small farm and it lies in a relatively isolated position away from the public road network. For the last hundred years Vessey Pasture has formed part of the Birdsall Estate and is now farmed 'in hand'. The buildings of the steading are plain and fairly modest in size, are all less than two hundred years old and, at first sight, seem to be of little immediate interest to either historian or archaeologist. Such initial appearances are deceptive for the origins of the farm unit prove surprisingly early and the buildings relatively complex in their structural history. A detailed study of the buildings has identified a number of building phases. In turn those building phases can be related to major agricultural changes within the farm that are revealed from the considerable body of estate archives and other surviving documentation. All these factors combine to make Vessey Pasture an interesting case study of farm development within the High Wolds.

Most of Vessey Pasture's 200 acres consists of open Wold land, but to the south the land drops sharply into a steep-sided dry valley, Vessey Pasture Dale, the dale bottom marking the farm's southern boundary. The dale land is, and probably always was, permanent pasture, although the grass on the steeper slopes can easily be eroded through over grazing. The Wold land has an average of 300 mm depth of topsoil before reaching either the natural Chalk or the pockets of boulder clay that fill its glaciation scars. Local Wold soils are fairly fragile and can only bear intensive arable cultivation with the aid of manure or fertilisers. The sole natural water sources are a pair of ancient glacial ponds to the east of the farm, although subsequently supplemented by dewponds and other man-made supplies. In recent centuries the whole acreage was farmed from a single steading comprising a house, barn and sheds arranged around a rectilinear foldyard (Fig. 2).

Vessey Pasture farmstead is typical of the majority of Wold farmsteads in that it is a product of the post-enclosure period. Most such farmsteads were constructed between 1770 and 1850, a period of improvement and expansion known as the 'Agricultural Revolution' (Harris 1961). On the Wolds most of these enclosure farms were large, generally 500–600 acres, although holdings of 1,000 acres or more could be found. By this period, most of these farmstead buildings were constructed of brick, at least on the outside, and roofed with pantiles, although slate roofs were to become increasingly

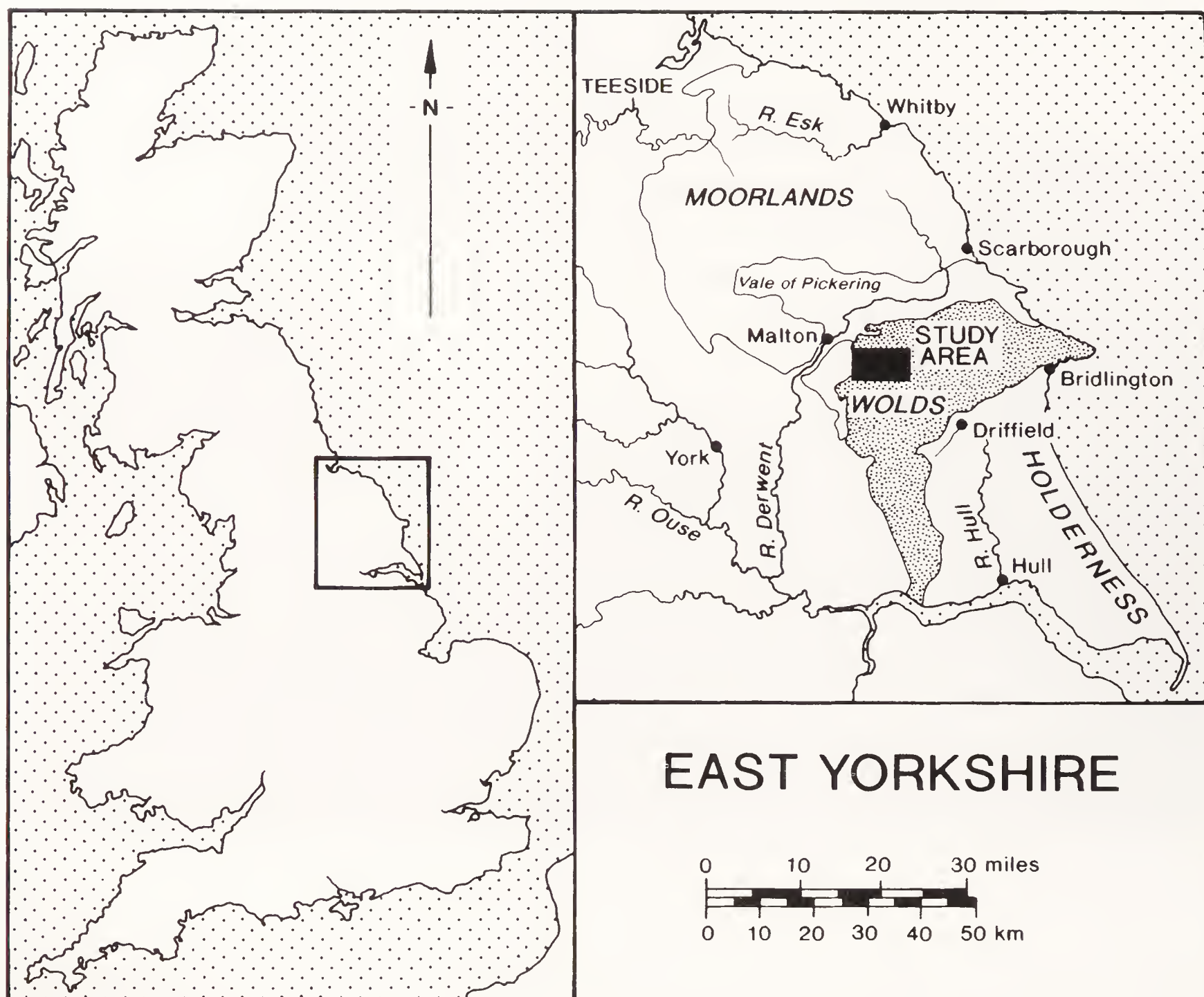


Fig. 1. Location map showing the study area of the Birdsall Estate. [drawn by Joan Dowling].

popular during the later nineteenth century. As the thrust of the agricultural revolution on the Wolds was towards an expansion of arable farming, barns, granaries and horse-sheds form the key buildings of most steadings.

The farmhouse and barn at Vessey Pasture are presently the field research base for the Wharram Research Project. It was the need to repair and renovate the farmhouse, removing much of the old internal plaster work, which provided such an excellent opportunity to make a detailed study of the structural development of these buildings. It rapidly became apparent that the farmstead buildings had undergone several phases of alteration and expansion, with several buildings changing their character and function within the steading. With both the muniments room at Birdsall Estate Office and the Lloyd Greame papers at Hull University Library proving fruitful sources for deeds, rentals, maps and other documentation for Vessey Pasture, there emerged the opportunity to see whether these structural changes might reflect both the increasing acreages under cultivation and any general changes in local agriculture.

B: THE ORIGINS OF VESSEY PASTURE FARM

The precise origins of Vessey Pasture as an agricultural unit have not yet been established, but they may well prove prehistoric. The northern boundary of the holding follows a



Fig. 2. Vessey Pasture Farmstead, Yorkshire Wolds (from the south-west). [Photograph by Colin Hayfield].

presumed prehistoric routeway that runs from the north-east edge of the Wolds, across the centre of this particular wold top to the neighbouring estate of Aldro on the western scarp. The rather rambling western, southern and eastern boundaries of Vessey Pasture follow the sinewy lines of dale bottoms along whose floors run linear 'entrenchments', part of a complicated network of bronze age and later bank and ditch boundaries that enmeshed the High Wolds in prehistory. The eastern part of the wold land of Vessey Pasture contains a linked pair of natural, glacially derived ponds, a rarity on the Wolds. Recent fieldwalking around these ponds has recently revealed a heavy scatter of mesolithic and later flint cores, tools and debitage (Hayfield, Pouncet and Wagner 1995). So far there is no evidence of any Roman or Saxon activity in the vicinity of Vessey Pasture.

During the medieval period it would seem that historical circumstance ensured that the Wold land of Vessey Pasture was not incorporated within the ploughed furlongs of an Open Field system, but instead remained as permanent pasture. Almost certainly, the land of Vessey Pasture, along with a similar neighbouring estate of Aldro, were the 480 acres of pasture and heath situated on the bounds of Birdsall and Thixendale that were the subject of a boundary dispute in 1268 between the Abbot of St Mary's York, and Peter Maulay of Birdsall (Parker 1932, 150–51). The Chronicle of St Mary's Abbey, York, describes how, on the 12th of June of that year, four justiciars and other dignitaries gathered on the Old Bailey (Bishopphill) in York for a trial by combat to decide the issue. Peter's knight lost and he consequently signed a cyrograph acknowledging that the land belonged to the Abbot (Craster and Thornton 1934, 12).

In 1694 William Vessey paid £320 for a sheep pasture, known then as Rounc Moor, or Brown Moor, in Thixendale, to Thomas Nesbit, a York merchant, who had inherited the land from his cousin John Hoyle (BEO, Birdsall Deeds). The deed describing the

transaction relates the former owners back to Sir Michael Stanhope who had acquired the lands from the estates of St Mary's Abbey on the Suppression. William Vessey had built up a considerable estate in Thixendale before his death in 1714. In addition to his 'real estate' in Thixendale, his will left his son, Eustaceus Vessey, 'all my Sheep Pasture called or known by the name of East Brown Moor' (BIHR, Register of Deeds). Fortune failed to smile as kindly on Eustaceus who was first forced to mortgage and then to sell the sheep pasture which then passed through various hands until 1751 when Edward Peirson of Raisthorpe sold it to Thomas Greame of Bridlington (BEO, Birdsall Deeds).

The Greame family were developing an estate in this part of the Wolds; purchasing land in the neighbouring townships of North Grimston, Wharram le Street, and later, in about 1771, buying the entire township of Towthorpe from Sir Robert Eden. Vessey Pasture, then still known as East Brown Moor, remained a great open area of sheep walk. In the later years of the eighteenth century, Robert Greame had an estate map prepared (Fig. 3; HUL, DDLG 4/1) which showed the estate surviving as a large, uninhabited expanse of pasture. The two natural ponds on the eastern side of the estate on its border with Raisthorpe, were carefully delineated. Correspondence between Lord Middleton of Birdsall and Richard Greame of Bridlington in 1802 recounts the former's 'Rake Rent' allowing his sheep to drink from Vessey ponds. Lord Middleton's entitlement was for:

'210 sheep, from old Lady Day to old Michaelmas Day, [to] enter the Ground at 10 o'clock in the Morning of each Day, and proceed slowly to a Spring [sic] near to Raisthorp Grounds, where they are to remain, with liberty to graze there as far as Raisthorpe Fence, also about the Spring, till a Man can sole a Pair of Shoes; are then to be driven away slowly and be quite off Mr Greame's Estate at One o'clock, which is 3 hours every Day' (HUL, DDLG 46/6).'

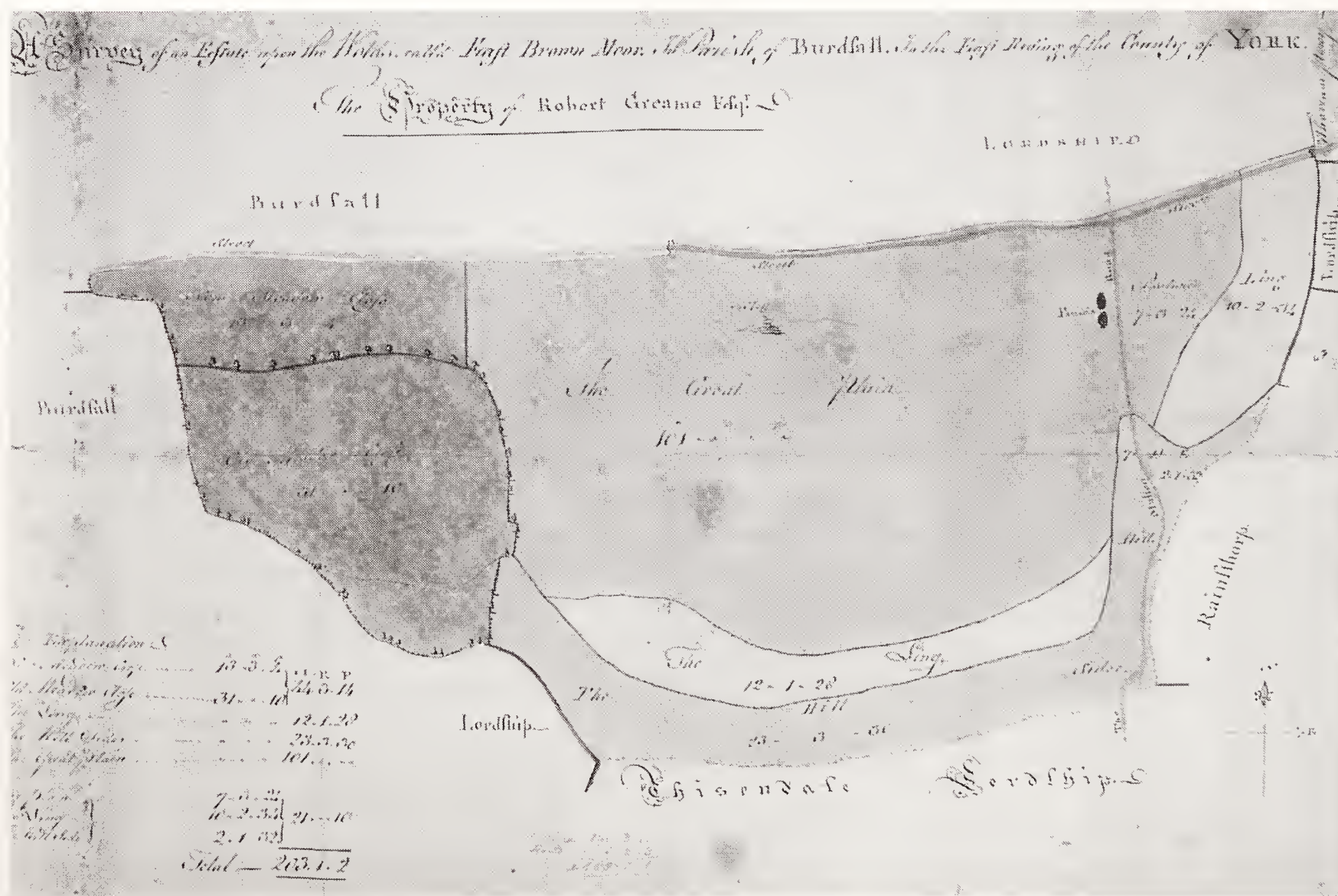


Fig. 3. Plan of Robert Greame's Estate of East Brown Moor, late eighteenth century. (HUL; DDLG 4/1).

Again the implication is that, hitherto, the land still lay in permanent pasture. However, as will be seen below, the same correspondence provides one of the first indications that change was already at hand.

C: ENCLOSURE AND THE FIRST FARMSTEAD

In 1750 the bulk of the land in this area of the Wolds was still unbroken pasture, 'scarce bush or tree for miles' (Maule Cole 1894). A century later it was predominantly arable. This 'agricultural revolution' was dramatic, and substantially motivated by the anticipated profits that more extensive, and indeed more intensive, arable cultivation might bring. The natural nutrients of the shallow Wold soils were always easily exhausted by prolonged cultivation, and before the mid-eighteenth century local practice had been to rest any land put to the plough after a few seasons and allow it to slowly revert back to pasture. However, it was now considered that with proper management through careful rotation and more extensive use of manuring, both artificial and natural, Wold soils were capable of more prolonged arable cultivation. On this basis, extensive landed estates were built-up on the Wolds over this period, the land enclosed and let-out in new, large tenanted farms. However, it was important to the landowners that their tenants broke-up the old pastures in a controlled way using the new methods. Thus tenancy or rental agreements were drawn up to lay down careful guidelines to the new tenants on how they were to farm their lands.

On the 14th of September 1802 John Greame's agent, J. Taylor, wrote to him reminding him of Lord Middleton's Rake right and saying that in the days before 'any part of the estate was ploughed out', a guinea a year was paid to Lord Middleton in lieu of his privilege. However, 'since part of it has been in tillage, five guineas has been demanded and paid', but now 'the most unreasonable demand of ten guineas' has been made (HUL; DDLG 46/6). Indeed, in October of that year Lord Middleton wrote directly to John Greame on this 'trifling business' offering to relinquish this grazing right in exchange for twenty acres of land or £350 (*ibid.*). Taylor's advice was not to pay but instead to get round the problem 'by laying down some of the present tillage where Lord Middleton has a right of stray & ploughing out an equal quantity in some other part of the estate' (*ibid.*). Thus by 1802 arable cultivation was certainly underway at Vessey Pasture, a fact confirmed by the earliest surviving tenancy agreement of 1803 (4/2).

By 1809, when William Rawson drew his great map of Birdsall, he included the land of Vessey Pasture (BEO; M/16). The map shows that the Vessey Pasture estate had already been enclosed into nine new fields, averaging just under twenty acres each; precisely the same enclosures that Robert Page's estate map was to record for the Greames in 1816 (Fig. 4; HUL; DDLG 4/3). However, the evidence suggests that not all these new enclosed fields were yet under plough. The 1803 tenancy agreement stated that the tenant, William Dale, 'shall not at any time exceed sixty acres in tillage to be equally divided into two falls, one of the said falls to be turnips and eaten off with sheep, the other with corn every year ...' (HUL; DDLG 4/2).

Although the 1803 tenancy agreement described the Vessey Pasture holding as containing 'a House and homestead' (HUL; DDLG 4/2), the earliest cartographic representation of it comes from Rawson's 1809 map (BEO, M/16). It shows a building, a small enclosure and a dewpond (Fig. 5a). However, some seven years later, Page's map shows the same buildings now augmented by an eastern range and an enclosed yard (Fig. 5b), describing it as the 'Homestead', and the original small enclosure to the West as a 'Garden'. As Rawson was usually accurate in his depiction of buildings on his various maps for the Birdsall area, it seems reasonable to suggest that there had already been some considerable

Fig. 5a and 5b demonstrate that the north range was indeed the first to be constructed. Structurally this first phase of building involved the use of bricks 65 mm high for the outer walls and roughly shaped chalk blocks for the inner, the latter probably obtained from a former chalk pit some 50 m to the south of the steading. Vernacular houses and farm buildings on the Wolds were commonly constructed of chalk before the nineteenth century, although by the later eighteenth century it was usual to find the foundations, corners and door/window surrounds being built of brick. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the use of chalk was confined to the inner skins of walls, with brick being used for the outer surface and, often as not, as bonding layers on the inner surfaces. The barn at Vessey is just such an example; here every fifth course of the inner wall is of brick.

Although this chalk and brick structure (Fig. 6) can probably be equated with that shown on the 1809 map (Fig. 5a), it is more difficult to identify its various original

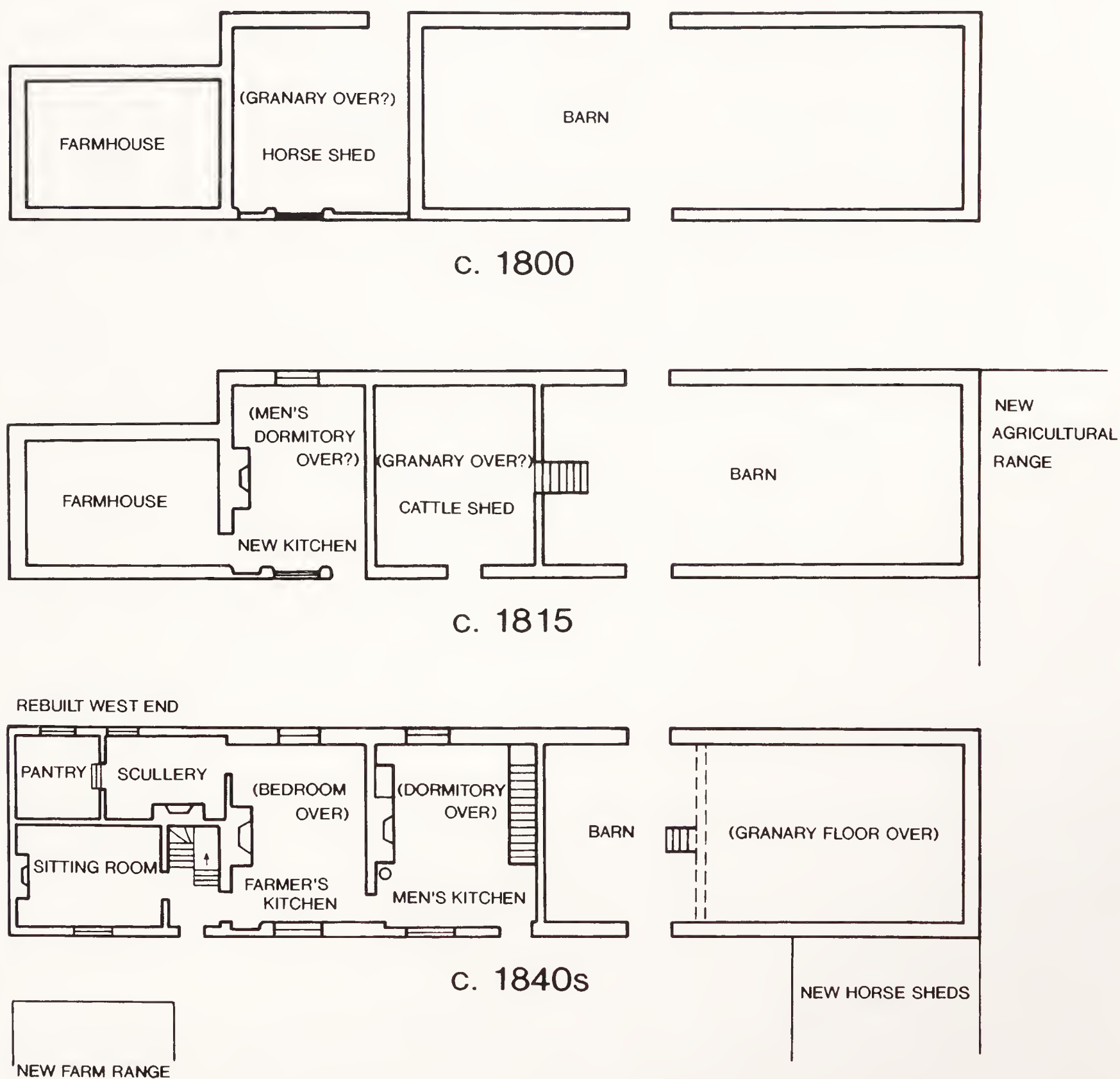


Fig. 6. Development of the North Range of Vessey Pasture. [drawn by Simon Hayfield].

components. William Dale's rental agreement of 1803 confirms that he and his family lived here at Vessey Pasture and as that agreement also states that some 60 acres had already been taken up by the plough, these buildings must surely have included both provision for horses and a granary to store the threshed corn. Both architecture and map dimensions suggest that the barn can be identified as the present one, occupying the eastern part of the range, although blocked air vents suggest that it originally extended further westwards to include the area later used for working men's kitchen (Fig. 6). Also associated with this phase is the brick-built southern wall of the present farmer's kitchen. This wall is curiously constructed, involving the provision of a door, a large open window and an open bay. The neatly rounded brick corners of these features implies the intended passage of animals, suggesting that what became the farmer's kitchen was used initially as the horse shed, possibly with a granary over. The 1809 plan (Fig. 5a) also shows a narrower, western extension to the building, corresponding approximately with the hall/parlour of the present structure. It may be that this western end contained the original domestic accommodation for this phase, none of which now survives.

D: INCREASING THE ARABLE ACREAGE

A possible danger to the landowner was that a new tenant might simply break-up the old pasture, crop it once or twice, and then move on leaving the landowner with broken land and having seen little of the profits. By stipulating an arable acreage in the tenancy agreement and exacting a financial 'penalty' for any increase, the landowner was able to monitor the expansion of the arable and to ensure that he too profited from it. This would seem to have been the gist of the agreement at Vessey Pasture between the Greames and their first tenant, William Dale. Subsequent rent increases would reflect the expansion of the arable and its likely returns, but such increases could also be used retrospectively to recompense the landowner for any capital expenditure on the farmstead. New buildings and major improvements on tenanted farms were usually the landlord's responsibility. Larger horse sheds were needed for the increased number of animals required to plough the greater acreages, and there was a growing recognition on the Wolds of the value of intensive cattle fattening within enclosed foldyards in winter so that the accumulated manures could be used on the arable fields the following spring (Hayfield 1991).

On moving from West Heslerton in 1803 to take up the tenancy of Vessey Pasture, William Dale agreed an annual rent of £75 (HUL, DDLG 4/2). By 1815 he was paying £90 a year (*ibid.*, 49/4), but in 1816, the year of Page's map, his rent rose to £130 and remained at that level until 1836 when the new incoming tenant, William Megginson, signed a new agreement at £145 a year (*ibid.*, 4/4). The 1836 tenancy agreement did not stipulate the actual acreage under tillage, but a new four course rotation had been established with the arable land lying in four falls. It ...

'is now divided into four closes or flats together with convenient sward land ... agree to manage as follows. First it shall be duly fallowed and shall have laid [down] in an husbandlike manner upon every acre twelve bushels of half inch bones for turnips or rape to be eaten with sheep. Second corn with two stone of grass seeds. Thirdly the seeds to be eaten off with sheep. Fourth the seeds to be broken up and sown with corn and so on in succession' (HUL, DDLG 4/4).

This clearly indicates that the arable acreage had, by agreement or otherwise, been substantially increased from the 60 acres of 1803.

It is not clear at exactly what stage, by what proportion, or at whose initiative the arable acreage increased. However, the progressive rise in rent suggests that it was a gradual rather than dramatic increase. Each subsequent change in tenancy saw a small increase in the rent, to £160 in 1847, £170 in 1856, and to £175 in 1892. The most

substantial increase in rent was therefore between 1803 and 1816 when it almost doubled. Although such increases might just as easily reflect the provision of new farm buildings as an enlargement of the arable acreage, it was probably during those thirteen years that the bulk of the old pasture land was broken-up by the plough. However, the landlord almost certainly incurred further expenditure between 1816 and 1850 in constructing new ranges of buildings around the foldyard and on improvements within the farmhouse, although these seem to have been followed by only modest increases in rents (HUL, DDLG 49/5-7).

Comparison of the plans of 1803 and 1816 shows that the original single range of buildings had been supplemented by the construction of an eastern range and the addition of an elementary foldyard (Fig. 5b). Nothing survives of this eastern range which seems to have been completely demolished to make way for the building of the existing foldyard some twenty or thirty years later. Given the developments to the house described below, it would seem that this early eastern range included a new, larger, horse shed, possibly with some provision for waggons, although this can only be conjecture.

There were two major developments to the existing north range during this period (Fig. 6). First the central part, hitherto probably the stable with a first floor granary, seems to have been converted into a domestic function to replace or increase the size of the farmhouse. This new building work still used 65 mm thick bricks. On the ground floor a large open fireplace was provided, the various southern wall openings were bricked up and a new 'Yorkshire sash' window inserted. Secondly the western part of the barn was partitioned off with a brick wall (the present dividing wall between the house and the barn), and a first floor provided. The ground floor of this newly created room between the house and the shortened barn is of uncertain use, although a doorway was provided in the northern wall and the walls were limewashed. However, the first floor was used as a granary with access down, via wooden steps, into the barn.

E: THE MID NINETEENTH-CENTURY HEYDAY

Use of the new rotations, combined with the use of a range of fertilisers and manures, ensured that the thin, light, chalk soils of the High Wolds were able to withstand regular cultivation yet still produce comparatively high yields. In terms of building development, manpower, and, in most cases, rents, the period from 1840 to 1860 represented the heyday of nineteenth-century Wold farming. It was probably during the 1840s that Vessey Pasture underwent its final major phase of rebuilding and enlargement.

William Megginson's tenancy agreement of 1836 described the steading as the 'dwelling house with the barns, stables, homestead and appurtenances' (HUL, DDLG 4/4). Certainly by 1850 the eastern range of farm buildings seen in 1816 had been taken down and replaced by a full suite of buildings around the west, east, and part of the southern sides of the foldyard (Fig. 7). The eastern half of the barn had a new first floor granary constructed on great timber joists that were inserted into the north and south walls. The old air vents in the north and south walls were bricked up on the inside, and, on the north wall, two new wooden slatted ventilation windows and a doorway were inserted at first floor level, the latter enabling grain to be unloaded from the granary floor down on to waggons drawn-up alongside below. The ground floor of the barn was raised, and new, slightly larger doorways were inserted in the same position as earlier ones. On the western side of the barn, on the ground floor, there seems to have been a small area enclosed off with a wooden partition, presumably to act as a 'slum' for the farm workers. Only the painted plaster walls of this now survive. By the side of the main north doorway to the barn is another, small, narrow opening, possibly designed to provide access for the drive belt from a steam engine outside the barn to milling gear within to grind the

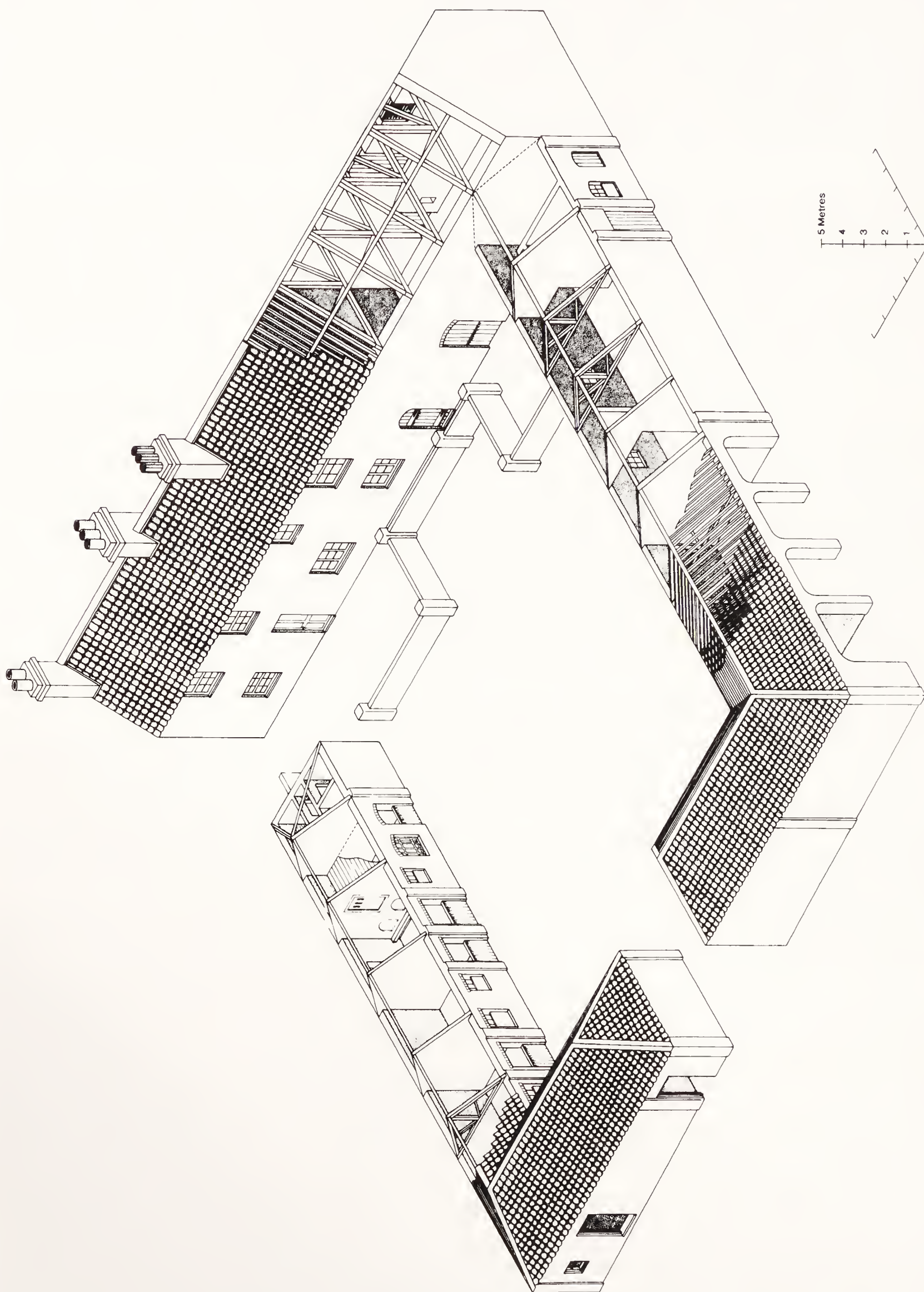


Fig. 7. Isometric View of Vessey Pasture Farmstead c. 1850. [drawn by Kevin Burkhill].

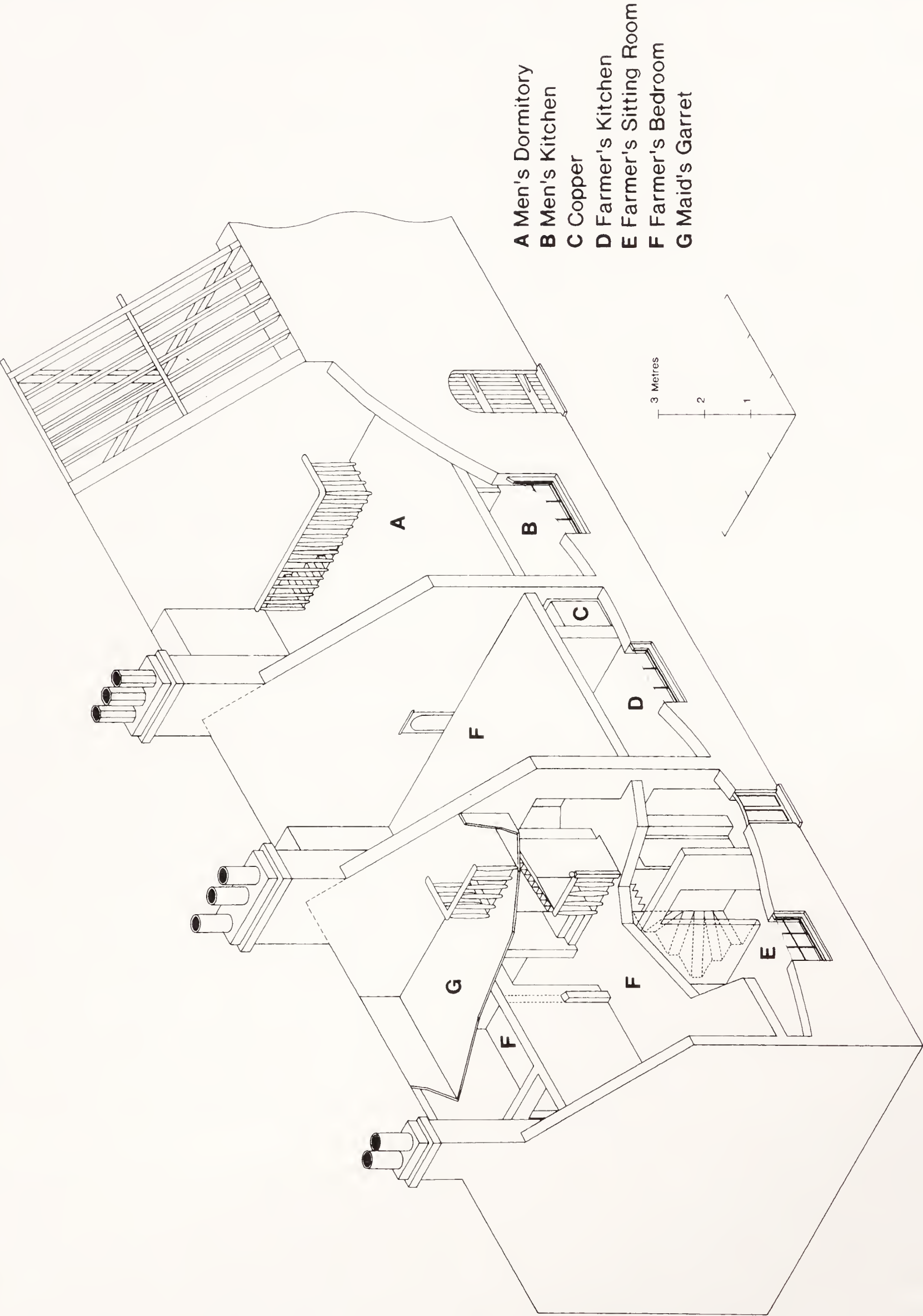


Fig. 8. Isometric View of Vessey Pasture Farmhouse c. 1850. [drawn by Kevin Burkhill].

corn from the granary above for foodstuffs for the farm's livestock. By this time the unthreshed corn was clearly being kept outside in a rickyard and, with the advent of 'threshing sets', the barn was now being used for threshed corn, chaff and straw.

The east, south and west ranges around the foldyard are all of one build, in brick (75 mm thick) and pantile with neatly rounded wall corners and edges. The main horse stable was on the east (Fig. 7), floored with large grey-black cobbles. All the standings have now been removed, but it seems likely that there had been provision here for up to six horses. To the north, the horse sheds led directly into a narrow harness room, and beyond that to a small feed house. Beyond the stables to the south were the waggon sheds which, as was usual, opened out not into the foldyard but out onto the fields; four bays were provided, and here the waggons, drills, ploughs and harrows would have been stored. The south range was split by a pair of great wooden gates that closed-off the foldyard. To the east of the gates there were two sheds opening into the foldyard; to the west of the gates there was a similar shed and a small, windowless room opening out onto the fields that was probably used for turnips. The western range was principally composed of a series of boxes that opened out into the foldyard. The most southerly box contained a second doorway leading directly out onto the fields. Above that, the larger of these sheds or boxes had a small byre provided and may have been the cow-house. Dairy cattle were not particularly important on nineteenth-century Wold farms (Legard 1848), but most farms kept at least one 'house cow'. The north wall of the next shed had a series of (now bricked-in) arches just above the ground that fed into a series of feeding troughs set into the south wall of the next room. These represent feeding chutes for pigs. This pig pen had an inserted timber ceiling with loft above to provide additional insulation: cold pigs do not fatten well. Again, a farmstead such as Vessey Pasture would have kept a small number of bacon pigs for the house. The northernmost room of this west range would appear to have been a tool-shed, perhaps with provision for fuel and other domestic requirements.

The Census Returns provide a valuable insight into the workforce at Vessey Pasture. The enumerators' returns of 1841 onwards reveal the presence of not only the farmer and his family, but of between two and four young, unmarried farm servants. The 1841 census shows that the tenant farmer, Henry Megginson, resided here with his wife, Matilda, and young son William. Also 'living-in' as farm servants were William Farndale (aged 25), and George Fox (aged 16). In addition there was a live-in female servant, Jane Chisham (aged 18). It was characteristic of most Wold farms that the bulk of the labour force was made-up of young men in their teens or early twenties that were hired on an annual basis at Martinmas (November 23rd) who would board with the farmer and his wife (Caunce 1991). By 1851 this small, two hundred acre farm appears to have reached its maximum workforce; in addition to the Megginsons, there were now four farm servants, a groom-lad, and Ann Eckles — a house servant. It would thus seem highly likely that any alterations to the farmhouse to provide kitchen and dormitory accommodation for these hired servants would have been completed by now. As on many farms, the Megginson workforce of hired lads was complemented by three weekly-paid farm labourers who lived away from the farm.

Within the farmhouse of the old north range, this mid nineteenth-century expansion of the steading saw two major changes: a new extension to the west, and the creation of farm servants' quarters to the east. The tiny, narrow western part of the old north range, seen on Figs 5a and 5b, would seem to have been demolished and replaced by the present stairwell, parlour, pantry, dairy, and cellar (Fig. 6). Upstairs, three new first-floor bedrooms were constructed and, up another flight of stairs, a second floor in the roof space provided 'garret' accommodation, presumably for the live-in female servants (Fig. 8, 'G').

The recent removal of plaster at the stair head showed that the present south wall of this extension (75 mm thick bricks) simply butts against the original brickwork (65 mm bricks). Also revealed was the rather clumsy way in which part of the old west wall had been hacked through in order to insert a doorway from the top of the new stairs into the old bedroom.

The second major development to the farmhouse was the creation of a farm servants' kitchen with dormitory above in the partitioned-off old west end of the barn (Figs 6 and 8). On the ground floor this involved the rebuilding of the southern wall, the insertion of a cast-iron kitchen range, plastering the walls, quarry-tiling the floor, and providing an internal, enclosed, wooden staircase to the floor above (Fig. 8, 'B'). Upstairs the old granary was converted into a dormitory: the walls were plastered, a ceiling inserted, and the old doorway leading down into the barn blocked off (Fig. 8, 'A'). Within the older core of the house new sash windows were carefully inserted into the north wall, including both the servants' rooms and the farmer's kitchen and upper bedroom. Larger 75 mm thick bricks were used, hidden behind the plaster, on the inner walls to fit these new windows, but outside old 65 mm bricks were reused, and only the use of a different coloured mortar now shows the extent of the new alterations. The northern doorway into what was now the farm servants' kitchen was blocked off, its access anyhow being obstructed by the building of the kitchen range. To the left of that range a brick and cast iron 'copper was inserted'. Vessey Pasture farmhouse and buildings were by now in more or less the form that they survive today.

F: LATER TENANCIES

The later nineteenth century was often a difficult time for Wold farmers, falling corn prices hitting both farmer and landlord alike. Farm rents remained fairly stable, and despite occasional rent reductions, an increasing number of farmers got into difficulties with rent arrears. From 1856 the tenancy of Vessey Pasture was taken over by William Megginson who was also tenant farmer of one of the Lloyd-Greame's other larger farms at Towthorpe. Rather than come and farm it himself, he installed a hind or bailiff to run the farm for him. In 1861 it was Christopher Dale. He lived at Vessey Pasture with his wife and two live-in male farm servants. For the next twenty or more years the Megginsons held the tenancy of Vessey Pasture, and the farmhouse was occupied by a succession of bailiffs. In 1871 the bailiff and his wife lived here with three men, but, as in 1861, with no female servant. By 1881 the bailiff had only one live-in farm servant and one live-in female servant. During this period the rent of Vessey Pasture increased slowly, usually with each new change in tenancy. It was £160 in 1847, £170 in 1856 and rose to £175 in 1892.

All the building work, or so it seems, was undertaken while Vessey Pasture formed part of the Greame estate. In 1899 the farm was purchased by Lord Middleton (BEO, Birdsall Deeds) thereby finally completing his ownership of Birdsall parish. He continued to let it as a tenanted farm, granting it to William Brigham in 1903 at £146 a year (BEO, tenancy agreements). His tenancy agreement detailed the agricultural use of each field on the farm. Of the stated 195 acres, 153 were under arable cultivation, and only 42 acres, mostly the steep, unploughable valley sides, remained as permanent pasture.

Many of the smaller farms on the High Wolds seem to have become increasingly unviable during the latter nineteenth century. Vessey Pasture was by no means the only farm of its size to find itself run as an off-shoot to a larger tenancy on the same estate. A number of the smaller farms on the neighbouring Birdsall Estate had also become amalgamated or 'put with' one of the larger farms as joint tenancies. Indeed, soon after

the Middleton purchase Vessey Pasture's 200 acres were let with the 176 acres of the neighbouring farm of Toisland.

G: FARMED IN HAND

By the 1930s an increasing number of farms on the Birdsall Estate were being 'farmed in hand'. In later years this meant the estate installing a salaried manager, but in the 1930s farms such as Vessey Pasture were run by a hind employed by the estate. From 1932 to 1935 the hind at Vessey was George Masterman, who lived in the farmer's part of the house with his family, the hired servants continuing to use the adjacent dormitory and kitchen. The farm was still intended to be largely self-contained, with its own horses, implements, pigs, house cow, and so forth.

From the 1940s Vessey Pasture was used as a labourer's cottage to house an estate tractor driver. By now the horses had gone and most of the foldyard sheds lay empty. Minor improvement works were, nevertheless, made to the house. The Birdsall Estate water supply was extended to the farmstead and part of the main bedroom was partitioned off for the installation of a bath and flush toilet. An enamelled 'Yorkist' range was fitted into the farmer's kitchen and other minor modifications made to modernise the house.

From the 1940s the only part of the farm buildings to remain in use at Vessey Pasture was the foldyard itself. Many other foldyards were covered over from the 1890s onwards by planked 'Yorkshire Weatherboarding' to keep the stock within them warmer in winter. Vessey Pasture seems to have bypassed this stage and instead had its foldyard covered over in the 1940s with asbestos sheeting. Such a financial commitment at a time when the rest of the buildings had fallen out of use demonstrates the importance still being placed on winter cattle fattening to produce valuable manure for the following spring. Indeed, the foldyard still remains in use (1995) for fattening cattle, and is one reason perhaps why, despite their redundancy, the buildings of Vessey Pasture farmstead have so far escaped demolition.

The farmhouse at Vessey Pasture was last used as an estate cottage in the 1950s. After the departure of the last estate worker in the early 1950s, the building was used for a short while as a Youth Hostel before being boarded up. It remained so, and in an increasingly sorry condition until 1989 when Birdsall Estate leased it to the Wharram Research Project as a base for their historical landscape survey. It was the subsequent renovation of the buildings which brought to light much of the structural evidence described above.

H: SUMMARY

In most respects Vessey Pasture is quite an ordinary farm and farmstead, although its story proves no less interesting for that. Structurally the buildings, especially the north range, seem to have undergone a number of changes. Some of these changes, particularly regarding the function of individual rooms, seem quite complex, and, even now, not fully understood. Had the restoration work not taken place revealing details of the inner walls of the house and barn, and the survey instead been confined to the outer, visible skin of the building, its structural history might have appeared deceptively simple.

Essentially the changes recorded here reflect the growth in prosperity of the farmstead from its beginnings in 1802/3 through to the mid-nineteenth century. By 1852 Henry Megginson probably resided here in some comfort, his living quarters were quite spacious and adjoined, but were quite distinct from, those of his hired lads. His wealthier neighbours on larger farms would by now have been employing a hind to manage the farmworkers, whose wife, known as the hind-wife, would have cooked and washed for them. At Vessey Pasture, like other small farms, Henry Megginson would have acted as his own

foreman, while his wife, with the assistance of her maid, would have catered for the farm lads.

Similar surveys are slowly being assembled by the Wharham Research Project for other neighbouring High Wold farms, and together they are beginning to build up a detailed picture of farming and farm-life at a time when major changes were taking place in Wold agriculture. To some perhaps, the recording of nineteenth-century farms hardly qualifies as archaeology. However, seen in context, the story of Vessey Pasture farmstead and its neighbours forms the closing chapter of the Project's landscape study, a study that opens with the prehistoric hunter gatherers whose flint flakes have been found scattered around Vessey ponds only a few hundred metres away.

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GIRLS' SECONDARY EDUCATION IN LATE VICTORIAN TIMES KEIGHLEY GIRLS' GRAMMAR SCHOOL 1872-94

By M. L. Baumber

CONCEPTION AND BIRTH 1866-71

Keighley became the first town in the West Riding of Yorkshire to take advantage of the provisions of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 with regard to the secondary education of girls, when classes began at what was to be known as the Drake and Tonson School in January 1872. A secondary school for girls was to open at Bingley in 1873 but Bradford did not get one until 1875, Leeds 1876, and Wakefield 1878. Skipton had to wait until 1886.¹ The reason that Keighley was so quick off the mark had much more to do with the difficulties being experienced by the town's free school than to any deep interest in the education of girls.

In 1713 John Drake, a local maltster, had left property worth £25 per annum to found a free school for the children of the Parish of Keighley. Five years later Jonas Tonson willed a further £100 to support a master. Originally the money seems to have been for two different foundations but in 1744 an agreement was reached by which Drake's endowment was devoted to supporting a master capable of teaching the classics, and Tonson's money was to pay the salary of an Usher appointed by the Drake school master to look after the elementary stages of instruction.

An investigation into the Drake and Tonson Schools by the School Inquiry Commission in 1868 revealed that both foundations were in a very unsatisfactory state. The Drake foundation had run into problems, owing to a well meaning but misguided attempt to improve the school by the master, Abraham Crabtree. He had introduced a system of quarterly tuition fees. The scale was fixed at 2s 6d per quarter for reading, writing and arithmetic; 5s for the same together with ornamental writing, geography and composition; 2s 6d per quarter for mathematics and book-keeping; and 3s for drawing and history, a total of 10s 6d.²

The change provoked violent opposition. What the Inquiry Commissioner Mr Fitch called an indignation meeting was held in the town, at which exception was taken not only to the exaction of fees but also to the attempts of Crabtree to attract the sons of gentlemen, by forcing the boys to wear college caps and generally aiming at a higher social standing for the school. Attention was drawn to the will of the founder, John Drake, which specified that the English, Latin and Greek languages should be taught free. One father claimed that he had sent his son to the school just to see if the master would fulfil the statute. After persisting for a year, he removed him in disgust because the boy was systematically excluded from the writing and arithmetic classes. Apparently, in Crabtree's

¹ The date for Bingley is in Gary Firth's book on Bingley Grammar School. Though it deals mainly with the post-1929 period, the first chapter recaps the history of the Girls' School between 1873 and 1929. The Leeds date is in Helen Jewel, *A School of Unusual Excellence 1876-1976*. The date for Wakefield is on the school noticeboard almost opposite the West Yorkshire Archives. In a *Keighley News* (hereafter *KN*) report dated 20 June 1931, the Skipton Headmistress said her school was 45 years old.

² Drawn from the account in *KN* 18 April 1932.

eyes the free part only covered reading. At the end a resolution was passed, pledging those present to act to maintain the character of the institution as a 'free' school.

The protests were effective and the Trustees overrode the master. Latin and Greek were to be taught free of charge and there were to be just nominal fees for the other classes. Fitch was very complimentary about the behaviour of the Trustees. 'Now here was a very honest and resolute attempt to carry out the founder's intentions', he wrote. 'And I am bound to say that in no town have I found so many intelligent men who, in the belief that all classes have the right to the highest education, have determined that the poor of their town, at least, shall not be robbed of that right. One cannot help sympathising with their wishes and admiring their zeal.'

Unfortunately, the changes did not improve the school. In the two years which elapsed between the reduction of the fees and Fitch's report, there was a steady decline in the numbers and reputation of the school. The children of the lower professional men and even of the respectable tradesmen had been withdrawn and, in the words of the master, 'Wooden clogs had come in and trencher caps had gone out'. This would not have mattered all that much in itself if the new intake had had any thirst for an advanced education, but it did not. The study of French and drawing had been given up, none were learning Greek, and scarcely any had begun the elements of Latin. The standard was low in all the other subjects, except history and geography. The school building was designed for 100 boys but there were only 42 there on the day of Fitch's inspection. Crabtree had little co-operation from the parents and attendance at classes was very irregular. He frankly admitted to Fitch that the education which was given scarcely differed from that of the National and Wesleyan Elementary Schools and they had advantages with which his school could not hope to compete.

The Tonson school, which was conducted in a room attached to an old school building in the centre of the town, was in an even worse plight. Fitch termed the instruction 'worse than useless'. The master or usher, William Plummer, who was appointed by the Master of the Drake school, taught about 20 little children on payment of 2d per week but they learned little or nothing.

In conclusion, Fitch pointed to the basic dilemma which faced the Trustees and the Master. 'The upper classes will not permit the association of their sons with labourers who come to it because the school is free. The lower classes find that it is more to their interest to send their children to good primary schools than to one which is struggling ineffectually to maintain a higher character'. In other words the better off put who their children associated with, before the standard of education and the poor thought academic attainments useless.

The Drake and Tonson schools had proved a broken reed but that group of intelligent men Fitch praised soon realised that there was another way to get what they wanted. Keighley possessed a flourishing Mechanics Institute and a committee composed of its most influential members set to work to form a Trade School. The aim was to give an advanced education to boys in subjects ranging from commerce and bookkeeping through applied science to art and design, which would be of use to them when they came to seek employment in trade or industry. As the Institute already employed staff to teach such subjects to adults, the cost would be much less than if the school were a separate foundation. By 1870 the buildings adjoining the Institute were up. Preparations were almost complete for accepting the first intake when national events impinged on what was happening in Keighley.

The Schools Inquiry Commission had revealed that the problems encountered by the Drake and Tonson schools were far from confined to Keighley. In 1869 the Endowed Schools Act passed through Parliament. The Act allowed the trustees of endowed schools

to break the terms of the original endowment and reorganise the schools but the schemes produced had to be approved by the Charity Commission and, in towns with a population over 4,000, at least half the money had to be devoted to the education of girls.

The possibility of extending the scope of their Trade School by the acquisition of half of the Drake and Tonson funds made an immediate appeal to the committee at the Mechanics Institute. An approach was made to the Charity Commission and, by the end of 1871, a scheme had been approved for two schools. The Boys' school, attached to the Mechanics Institute, was to be known as the Trade and Grammar School, because one of the conditions imposed by the Commissioners was that the humanities should be taught as well as practical subjects. A Girls' Grammar School was to be set up, to be known as the Drake and Tonson School. The birth of the girls' school was due, therefore, more to the desire of the committee at the Mechanics' Institute to use half of the Drake and Tonson Endowments for their new boys' school, than as a result of any deep interest in the education of girls.

As the boys had their Trade School all ready to be occupied, the Drake school was allotted to the girls. This was a relatively new building in Gothic Revival style, which had been erected by the Trustees in 1857 in Strawberry Street.³ The Trustees were instructed to sell land worth £1,000 from the Endowment and invest the money in Consols, the interest from which would form a fund of approximately £30 per annum for the girls' school repairs. The first call on the remaining endowment income was to be the support of the two existing masters. Crabtree and Plummer were pensioned off, the former getting £70 a year and the latter £20. Plummer died in 1882 but Crabtree lived to a ripe old age and was a burden on the school finances for many a long year.⁴

Of the remainder, £200 was to be equally divided between the Boys and the Girls. The Boys' share was to be devoted to establishing scholarships. No scholarships were to be awarded until the school numbered 100 and then one should be created for every £10 received from the Governors of the Trust and be tenable for two years. The £100 received by the Girls' school was to be devoted to school maintenance. Money was then to be set aside to form a pension fund for the Headmistress of the Girls' school. Finally any surplus income was to be divided between the Boys' and Girls' schools equally.

The property of the Drake and Tonson Charity was to be vested in the Official Trustee of the Charity Commission and there were to be 15 governors, who were also to be the governors of the Girls' school. Three were ex-officio: the Rector of Keighley, the Chairman of the Keighley School Board and the President of the Mechanics Institute; four were to be representative, two being elected by the Mechanics Institute and the Keighley School of Science and Art jointly, and two by the Keighley Local Board of Health. From 1882 two members of the new Keighley Town Council replaced those from the Board of Health. They were to serve for four years and retire one per year in rotation. The remaining eight governors were to be co-optative and four of them were to be women. They were to serve for ten years. Both the representative and co-optative governors could be re-elected.

Tuition and equipment were to be financed through fees paid by the children's parents. The scheme for the Girls' school laid down a minimum of £4 and a maximum of £8 per year to be charged for tuition and not more than 10s as an entrance fee. The Girls' school governors opted for a fixed 5s entrance charge but took advantage of the flexibility

³ Drake and Tonson Foundation scheme 1871, Keighley Reference Library BK 3. After the girls moved to Greenhead in 1934, the old school was used successively as an annexe to the Mechanics Institute, the Secondary Technical School and Hartington Middle School. In 1976 the town's MP compared it memorably to Colditz Castle, the German Prisoner of War Camp. It has since been demolished.

⁴ Crabtree was still alive in 1893.

in the tuition fees to vary the amount levied according to the income of the parent and the age of the child. Artisans' children would only be expected to pay the £4 minimum tuition fee. The remainder would pay £5 for children aged between seven and ten, £6 between 10 and 12 and the full £8 for children over 12. As a means of persuading parents to send their children early, instead of waiting until they were too old for the free public elementary schools, all those who started before 12 would not be charged more than £6 per year for the rest of their stay at the school.⁵

Taken all round, the Girls had done rather well out of the division. In addition to the prescribed half of the funds, they got the school buildings, a fund for the headmistress's pension and the £30 per annum for repairs. The one disadvantage under which they laboured was in relation to scholarships. The scheme prescribed that the Boys' school award scholarships out of their first £100 from the Drake and Tonson fund. The Girls' first £100 had to be devoted to maintenance. Their scheme simply allowed the governors to remit all or part of selected pupils' fees at their discretion and to establish Exhibitions 'as the funds allow'.

Predictably, those who had objected to Crabtree charging 10s 6d a quarter were incensed when they found that the two new schools were charging almost twice as much. Meetings were held as a result, of which a Working Men's Committee was formed. The committee put forward an alternative scheme for two Boys' schools, one a Grammar school and the other a Trade school. The plan envisaged fees of not more than £2 per annum. The whole of the Drake and Tonson Endowment was to be devoted to scholarships and it was estimated that the funds were sufficient to support 200 free pupils. The 15 governors of the Endowment were all to be elected by the ratepayers.⁶

These ideas received short shrift from the Charity Commissioners, who began by pointing out that the objectors had included the £90 pensions to Crabtree and Plummer in their calculations, which they were obliged to pay by law. They then drew attention to the lack of reference to girls' education in the scheme. They also commented tartly that the protesters' plan would be so financially limited that little more than a superior primary education could be provided and there were plenty of schools where that could be had: a contention borne out by the experience of the Trade and Grammar School, which began by charging only £2 but which was forced to raise its fees to the same level as the Girls' in 1875.⁷ They might also have said that a separate Boys' Grammar School had no chance of success, on past evidence, unless it charged enough fees to exclude the labouring class. Finally, they dismissed the idea of electing all the governors, with the remark that such a system would not adequately represent all the different interests involved.

The opposition did not go away. Speaking at the opening of Bingley Liberal Club in 1874, John Clough, one of Keighley's leading textile manufacturers, who was to be a Governor of the Girls' School from its inception until his death in 1922 and its staunchest supporter, had to defend both schools against the charge that they were using money designed for the poor to pay for the education of the rich. A correspondent writing to the *Keighley News* alleged that the old Free School had actually given a totally free education to 14 of its 42 students, whereas at the new boys' school there were only ten free scholars and none at the girls'. He also revived the claim that the income of £350 from the Trust could provide a 'moderate' education for 200 scholars.⁸

⁵. School advertisement

⁶. The Charity Commissioners' reply is found in *KN* 28 January 1871 and the original questions can be deduced from it.

⁷. Advertisement in *KN* 21 January 1871. Article in *KN* 20 July 1905 gives the subsequent increase.

⁸. *KN* 14 and 21 November 1874.

The critics returned to the charge the next year, maintaining that the Trust had misinterpreted the scholarship clause in the Boys' school scheme. The effect of ten scholarships, each awarded for two years, resulted in there being 20 free scholars in the school after the first year. They attempted to construe this situation as justifying 20 scholarships each year.⁹ Had the Trust accepted such an interpretation, the free scholars would be getting £5 over two years, which nowhere near paid the fees, and which would have reduced the income available to pay the staff. Alternatively, the Trust would have been compelled to limit the free period to one year or once again have encroached on the money allotted to the girls. With those who believed that only a 'moderate' education was needed without 'fancy' subjects, Clough's demonstration that the Keighley fees were less than Bradford's, in spite of the latter having large endowments, cut little ice. The uselessness of a purely academic education was to be a continuous refrain throughout the school's history.

THE EARLY YEARS 1872-79

The school opened for business in January 1872 with 27 pupils on the roll. In order to try and attract a first class teacher, the Trustees decided to go beyond the foundation scheme. This had suggested a fixed income for the headmistress plus a capitation fee for each pupil. Instead, the Trustees offered a fixed income of £80 per year, £2 for each of the first 20 pupils, £1 10s 0d each for the next 20 and £1 for every one in excess of 40.¹⁰ The device appeared to be immediately justified. The first headmistress, Miss Mary Eliza Porter, was a friend of Lord Lytton and one of the pioneers of girls' secondary education. Mrs Groves, one of the original intake, described how the single large hall was divided in two by a curtain, Miss Porter taking one class and an assistant, Miss Anderson, the other. She remembered peering round the curtain when the assistant was not watching to gape at Miss Porter in her purple dress and to admire her beautiful white hands as she drew on the blackboard.

Miss Porter only stayed a year.¹¹ Though the reasons for her rapid exit will remain a matter of dispute, her pupils were quite certain in their own minds why she left. According to an old Yorkshire custom, Oak Apple Day was kept up by the school children as Barring-Out Day. At the Drake and Tonson School they tied a rope across the door as a delicate hint to the authorities that lessons were not to be expected. The new headmistress chose to ignore the tradition. She brought a policeman to remove the rope. Mrs Cecil Sharpe, a direct descendant of the founder, John Drake, and sister to W. A. and J. J. Brigg recalled the incident at the Prize Giving of 1913. Miss Porter was so upset that she went home ill and the girls were made to sit facing the wall for the rest of the morning, by the assistant.¹²

An incident at a picnic the following summer did not help matters. Miss Porter, who was short and rather plump, got stuck in a stile and had to be pushed through by the assistant. Sadly she appeared to be totally lacking in a sense of humour. The amusement that the contretemps created was taken in bad part and ruined the outing. She was remembered as a domineering personality who used to boast to her students that she was the cleverest woman in England.

⁹ Minutes of the Governors' meetings of the Drake and Tonson Trust 1871-1913, pp. 38-42 October 1874 to February 1875 (hereafter D & T) gives the correspondence with the Charity Commissioners.

¹⁰ Article on Miss Porter in *KN* 4 March 1933 and the account of Speech Day 1933 in the School Magazine XVI (Summer 1934), 33, by Elizabeth Redman.

¹¹ D & T 1871-1913 pl. 20 October 1871.

¹² *KN* 20 December 1913. She is identified as the sister of the Brigg brothers in a photo in *KN* 20 October 1934.

But there was more to it than that. Keighley had been quick off the mark in founding its girls' school but during 1872 more ambitious schemes were put on foot. An organisation was founded by Maria Grey called 'The Ladies' Public Day School Company' with the object of stimulating girls' secondary education. Miss Porter was chosen as the headmistress of the first school opened by the Company. She actually offered her resignation in July but she was not released until the following December.¹³ In 1875 she moved again, this time to become the first headmistress of Bradford Girls' Grammar School. For once she settled and remained there for 13 years.

One of her staff, Miss S. H. Crabtree, remembered her well. 'She recalled that Miss Porter was an excellent teacher and pioneered the lecture method of teaching. She was a woman of high principle, for which she would fight to the death. She knew nothing of compromise or the gentle art of diplomacy. There was about her, too, an atmosphere of aloofness, due partly to a sort of incoherent shyness and lack of self-confidence, which caused many of her pupils to stand in awe of her. When this reserve was penetrated, however, many of her teachers and older pupils found her a very sympathetic and helpful friend.'

Perhaps it was this character which led her to specialise in opening schools rather than in developing them. In 1888 she went on her travels again, founding the first girls' secondary school in the Isle of Man. She finished her teaching career in 1895 as headmistress of Bedford Girls' Modern School.

It says much for the strength of the original field that, instead of readvertising, the governors felt able to offer the headship to Miss Ellen Leicester, one of Miss Porter's disappointed rivals of the previous year, an invitation that she was pleased to accept. She remained in charge until July 1878.¹⁴

Information about the school during the 1870s is limited. Another of the first intake was the later wife of the Chairman of the Bradford School Board, Mrs Mitchell, who came back to present the prizes in 1899. What she had learned, she told the girls, was that it was important to write clearly and legibly, to enunciate distinctly and pronounce your words properly. She thought they should pay great attention to grammar and composition, so that they could express their thoughts beautifully. She was particularly concerned that no girls nowadays punctuated their letters properly. And finally that the great thing was that they should learn obedience.¹⁵ This order of priorities shows how little politicians have changed over the years and such a speech should have made a militant feminist out of any girl with an ounce of spirit.

A more bizarre recollection of those early days was contributed by Mr J. J. Brigg. In 1916 he recounted, to the obvious amusement of his audience, how he had attended a lecture from a wandering professor of elocution at the Girls' School. Afterwards he came to the conclusion that the man was none other than the wanted criminal, Charlie Peace. Brigg does not give the year but if it was 1876 it was a possibility. In August Peace shot a policeman at Whalley Range, Manchester. Little is known of his movements until the following November, when he murdered another man in Sheffield, who caught him molesting his wife. So a visit to Keighley would not have taken him much out of his way. He was a talented artist and a man of many parts. There is a tradition that he stayed at

¹³. D & T 1871-1913, pl. 2, 27 July 1872.

¹⁴. Short list in D & T 1871-1913, p. 6. Her Declaration dated 6 February 1873 is at p. 22. Her resignation letter is dated December 1877 but Miss Chambers did not come until the following September, so I have assumed she stayed until July.

¹⁵. KN 23 December 1899.

the White Bear at Crosshills and entertained the regulars by playing his violin.¹⁶ Perhaps he was the one who had taught Mrs Mitchell to enunciate properly!

It would be unfair to judge Miss Leicester by such random recollections. Miss Porter had followed the curriculum laid down in the Foundation scheme, which consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, composition and literature, political and physical geography, English history, Latin and French, one branch of natural science, the laws of health, needlework, drawing and vocal music. The pattern of studies was not immutable and could be altered by the Principal Teacher, with the approval of the governors. Miss Leicester made a number of changes.¹⁷ Keighley boasted a School of Science and Art attached to the Mechanics Institute, which already had a national reputation and was only five minutes walk away, so Miss Porter had arranged for a member of its staff to instruct the girls in art. In 1874 the agreement was renegotiated and the teacher, Mr Rawson, came to the girls' school to give the instruction instead.¹⁸ The reason for the change is not clear. Perhaps there had been some difficulty in making sure that the girls were properly chaperoned. The change proved only temporary. The place of instruction soon reverted to the School of Science and Art, where it remained until the school moved from Strawberry Street to Greenhead in 1934.

Miss Leicester also added two new subjects, both of which could have been controversial. Callisthenics, or elementary gymnastic exercises, had to be introduced carefully, as it was thought that anything entailing physical exertion could be damaging to well brought up young ladies. Indeed the subject was more like deportment than physical exercise. In December 1875 the Inspector commented, 'I am inclined to think that the posture in which the girls marched with their hands behind them is not the best for giving them good figures. I believe that marching with the hands by the sides or in front, a book or a piece of wood on the head, so as to keep the head erect is the best exercise for giving a good figure and carriage.'¹⁹

Scripture knowledge needed to be treated with even more circumspection. The scheme under which the school worked forbade discrimination on the grounds of religion and the teaching of any particular brand of the Christian faith. The issue periodically agitated the local School Board but there was never any trouble at the Drake and Tonson School. The daughter of the Rector studied happily alongside girls from nonconformist backgrounds and they did particularly well in the subject during the school's early years.

Another clause in the Foundation Scheme provided for the examination of the school every year by an outside Inspector, acceptable to the Charity Commission. The quotation about Callisthenics came from one of the Reports. The first inspections were done by Walter Bailey of the Leeds School Board. The report of December 1872 found that the school was particularly strong in English grammar, geography and choral singing. That a considerable amount of time was spent on these aspects is confirmed by the exercise books on geography and English grammar, together with a volume of 'Silcher's Part Songs' in the school archives belonging to Emma Burton, later better known under her married name of Mrs Groves, one of the first students. On the other hand the writing of many of the girls was appalling and most of them did not know the four basic rules of arithmetic.

Miss Porter acknowledged the shortcomings but claimed that her first task had been to establish proper discipline, because the girls had initially been very rebellious and, if

¹⁶ KN 1 December 1916. The White Bear tradition is referred to in KN 16 March 1935. The details of Peace's career are from *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*.

¹⁷ Comparison of advertisements for the new school year in KN 6 January 1872 and KN 8 January 1876.

¹⁸ D & T 1871-1913, pp. 24, 33 and 35.

¹⁹ D & T 1871-1913, p 48, 3 December 1875.

he thought the arithmetic was bad, he should have seen it when she first started.²⁰ Judging Miss Porter on one year would be unfair and the lack of disciplinary problems which was to be a feature of the school may well have been partly due to the hard line she took at the beginning. The report of 1875 suggests that Miss Leicester's regime was much milder and that the standard was rising. Arithmetic was to remain a weakness but there was a rapid improvement elsewhere.

Inspections were there to keep staff and scholars up to scratch. A more positive way in which the school could stimulate the girls to improve the standard of their work was to offer prizes. The account of the Prize Giving in 1875, at which Lord and Lady Edward Cavendish were the guests of honour, shows that the practice of persuading parents and benefactors to present prizes for good work in practically everything the school could think of was already beginning to bear fruit.²¹

Another method of raising standards and providing favourable publicity was to enter the girls for external examination. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge began their local examination for school children in 1857 and 1858 respectively. In the early days Cambridge proved the more flexible of the two, girls being admitted to full participation in 1867. All entrants were expected to satisfy the examiners in Arithmetic, English Grammar, Dictation and at least two other subjects. Those examined in 1877 were Scripture, Composition, Shakespeare, English History, Latin, French, Euclid, Algebra, Geography, Physical Geography and Geology, Heat, Electricity, Mechanics, and Chemistry. Examinations lasted between one and two hours and candidates were warned that spelling and handwriting would be taken into account.²²

At first the number of entrants from Keighley was limited because the nearest examination centre was Bradford, but by 1876 Keighley had acquired its own centre. The majority of those taking the examination were boys. The number of girls entered from the Drake and Tonson School was small, even after the establishment of the local centre. In 1876 there were nine, in 1877 five, and in 1878 two. With school numbers below one hundred quality was bound to be extremely variable and an examination of the fee books shows that there was an added problem. Girls stayed on an average two years and only a handful were fourteen, the usual age at which the Cambridge Junior examination was taken. But even taking these factors into account the school was clearly experiencing difficulties in 1877 and 1878. Numbers reached a peak of 75 in January 1874 but they had fallen to 51 by January 1877 and 42 in January 1878.²³

The evidence available is insufficient to deduce what was wrong but during 1878 Miss Leicester was replaced as headmistress by Miss Ann Halley Chambers, a native of Plymouth.²⁴ She stayed only two quarters, her successor being Miss Mary Ellen Mellor, who signed the declaration as headmistress in May 1879. She was a native of Liverpool and she was on the staff of Huddersfield Girls' College at the time of her appointment.²⁵ She was to prove the most capable of all the school's early headmistresses.

THE REIGN OF MISS MELLOR 1879–1894

Miss Mellor set about improving the standard of instruction and making the school an attractive institution for parents to send their children to, in characteristically vigorous

²⁰. School Records p. 2 for Emma Burton's books; D & T 1871–1913, pp. 38–42 for the Inspector's report and Miss Porter's comments.

²¹. *KNrt* 2 December 1875.

²². *KN* 22 December 1877.

²³. The *KN* reports are erratic and not easily comparable.

²⁴. D & T 1871–1913, p. 58, 15 March 1878 for selection. Made the Declaration p. 60, 13 September 1878.

²⁵. Census 1881 for place of birth. Other details from D & T 1871–1913, p. 7.

fashion. A new prospectus was issued and the school year was reorganised on a more logical plan. The sessions had been divided into four quarters, because this pattern fitted the fee paying arrangements but there were only three holiday periods: six weeks in summer, three at Christmas and one at Easter. Miss Mellor persuaded the governors to change to a three term arrangement which fitted the curriculum much better.²⁶

However, the basic problem was that, until the total on the roll rose, only a limited number of staff could be employed. The inspection of 1880 showed that the school was officially divided into five classes roughly according to age but the numbers on the roll only merited the employment of three full time teachers, so in practice only the third class was taught separately.²⁷ One assistant took the two youngest classes. Miss Mellor herself taught both the first and second classes. Another drawback was that most subjects were class taught, because the establishment did not allow for the employment of specialists.

Indeed, there was little provision for the training of teachers at all. They went straight into school and learned 'on the job'. In such circumstances the influence of the headmistress was paramount. Not only did she have to be competent in a wide range of subjects herself, she also had to instruct her assistants. Miss Mellor's solution was to employ assistants who were thoroughly acquainted with her methods. One of the ways she inculcated them was to take newcomers as boarders. The fee books show that during the early years there were a number of older girls who came from outside the district and who stayed a year or eighteen months. The most obvious reason for their attendance was that they were receiving tuition prior to taking up teaching. One of them, Hannah Tickle, certainly boarded with Miss Mellor and others may have done.

These girls began to disappear as more qualified teachers made their appearance. By 1893 the Charity Commission Report noted that it was the established practice for neophyte teachers from outside the district to begin their service under Miss Mellor's roof. The 1891 Census showed that Miss Hicks, who came in 1882, and Miss Musgrave, who was first listed in that year, both came from Chester and both were living with Miss Mellor.²⁸ Few assistants today would relish having their head teacher for breakfast, dinner and tea but the system had its merits. For a young lady in the late nineteenth century, being uprooted and sent to work in a strange town on her own could be a daunting experience and Miss Mellor was a sensible woman. She always insisted that all her staff complete their work before they left the school building, so there was no question of forcing them to sweat at it late into the night.

Such methods were not necessary with teachers recruited from among the successful pupils of the school. They already knew the way she worked. By the end of Miss Mellor's time at Keighley, a large proportion of the teachers were former students. Miss Leicester had set the example. The Miss Burton, who was first paid £5 for helping in 1873 and was then taken onto the regular staff, must have been the Emma Burton whose exercise books have remained in the school archives. Miss Edmundson, who taught at the school from 1880 to 1882, and Miss Stephenson, who remained throughout Miss Mellor's time, can also be identified as former pupils. There were others too, some of whom will be mentioned later. Hard work and attention to duty were rewarded by regular pay rises. For her first full year Miss Burton got £20. By 1879 she was earning £45. Miss Stephenson

²⁶. D & T 1871-1913. New Prospectus p. 67; Holidays pp. 46 and 70.

²⁷. KN 31 January 1880.

²⁸. See Charity Commission Report 1893. The 1891 Census shows two teachers boarding with Miss Mellor at 5 Drake Street. Details about student teachers from D & T 1871-1913, p. 96 and p. 135.

began with the usual nominal £5. In Miss Mellor's last full year she was the highest paid assistant at £90.²⁹

As a result of a combination of good luck and good management, Miss Mellor's first year witnessed an education bonanza. The school at Giggleswick had an endowment that provided four exhibitions each year, worth £25 per annum, which were open to girls in the Craven area between the ages of 13 and 15. They were awarded as the result of an examination and they were tenable for two years at an approved school providing advanced secondary education.³⁰

Sensibly Miss Leicester had realised, that securing such exhibitions could serve a useful purpose. For a real high flyer the Drake and Tonson School could not yet provide a complete secondary education and the opportunity to study at another school for two years could bridge an awkward gap, particularly for a girl contemplating secondary school teaching. Alternatively, winning a Giggleswick exhibition could compensate for the inability of the Drake and Tonson School to offer exhibitions of its own. Keighley's first success came in 1878 when Mary Roddy won one of the exhibitions. Perhaps it was the decline in the Drake and Tonson School visible during Miss Leicester's last years which led her to look elsewhere for her two years' free education. Nonetheless, it was most enterprising of her to elect to complete her study at the North London Collegiate School for Girls. The headmistress was the redoubtable Miss Frances Buss, the great pioneer of women's education. She had founded the school in 1847 and remained its headmistress until 1894. In 1879 a second one was won by Charlotte Hattersley. But the real coup was in 1880, when no less than three out of the four exhibitions were won by pupils at the Drake and Tonson School, Eliza Edmondson, Edith Summerscales and Ada Summerscales.

In all, seven girls are mentioned as winning Giggleswick exhibitions but references to them disappear during Miss Mellor's later years. This was not due to any fall in the standard of education but because more openings were appearing in Keighley itself. The Drake and Tonson School offered its own exhibitions for the first time in 1882. Four were given in the first year and the plan seems to have been to offer them alternate years, but later the school switched to offering two each year. In 1891 the West Riding County Council made a grant of £16, which the governors decided to use as Continuation rather than Entrance Scholarships, that is, to allow girls already in the school to stay longer, who would otherwise have been forced to leave through lack of means.³¹

The Giggleswick successes played a significant part in the sharp rise in the number of pupils attending the school. The 52 Miss Mellor found on her arrival in May 1879 had risen to 90 at Christmas 1881 and 124 by the end of 1883.³² The increase enabled her to employ more staff. She herself concentrated on the first class, giving the second class to a new teacher, Miss Turner. In 1883, on the recommendation of the Inspector, a special teacher was employed to improve the girls' French conversation. Miss Mellor was also able to separate the fourth and fifth classes by the use of two student teachers who were paid less than the other staff.

This arrangement was facilitated by the admission of young children for the first time in 1881. The original impulse seems to have come from parents of girls already in the school who had younger children they did not wish to send to the public elementary schools, rather than from the Drake and Tonson School itself. The Foundation scheme

²⁹. D & T 1871-1913 gives regular yearly lists of staff salaries.

³⁰. For details of the Giggleswick successes see *KN* 21 August 1880. *KN* 15 January 1887 gives a total of seven.

³¹. D & T 1871-1913, pp. 94, 102, 128, 138, 158 and 159.

³². Inspector's reports in *KN* 2 December 1881 and 2 December 1883.

made no provision for children under seven years of age but Miss Mellor realised that their admission might just enable her to employ an extra teacher and organise a proper preparatory class. The 1883 inspection showed that the youngsters were being taught in conjunction with the fifth class. Miss Minshull was officially responsible for the class and Miss Bastow for the Juniors, both of whom had just completed courses at the school. In practice the small numbers enabled Miss Bastow to give Miss Minshull considerable assistance. An application to the Charity Commission to be allowed to establish a kindergarten in the school year 1886–87 had no result but the building extension of 1887 had the provision of accommodation for young children as one of its objectives. During Miss Mellor's time the number of juniors never got into double figures but they were just sufficient to justify the employment of Miss Bastow to look after them. Despite the lack of official sanction, the Charity Commission report of 1893 came to the conclusion that there were no adverse effects on the tuition of the older girls and offered no objection to the arrangement.³³

Pleasant as were the Giggleswick successes, Miss Mellor knew that only a small minority of her scholars could expect to gain such advancement. She developed the idea of awarding prizes annually, begun by Miss Leicester, until by 1890 the list covered many column inches in the *Keighley News*. 'I have great faith in encouragement,' Miss Mellor declared at the 1884 Prize Giving, 'and believe in fostering even the feeblest efforts, rather than only rewarding the decidedly superior pupils.'³⁴ An emphasis on prizes did have its pitfalls. Competition among the girls, and even more among the parents, could lead to charges of favouritism. On 15 October 1890 the governors minuted that 'it will be more satisfactory to some of the parents and best promote the general harmony and prosperity of the School, if in the future the examination for the various prizes given be conducted as they have been in the past viz. The Headmistress to prepare the papers and conduct the examinations, then to pass the papers on to the Prize Giver, who shall decide as to who is the successful competitor and that resolution be an instruction to the Headmistress.'³⁵

Miss Mellor was also aware that more success was likely if the competitive hurdles got gradually harder, rather than if the girls were pitchforked into difficult examinations like the Cambridge ones with no previous experience. She also had the problem already mentioned, that with there being no compulsory education beyond the age of twelve, girls often only stayed a couple of years. With these considerations in mind, she began entering girls for the examinations of the College of Preceptors. The College catered particularly for those wishing for a professional career and their certificates were a recognised qualification for teaching. Their examinations also had the advantage that they were divided into three classes, designed to be taken by scholars of different ages. At first the girls appear in the lists for all three classes and they were entered as early as possible. One girl, Kate Pigott, was placed in the first division of the third class at the age of nine. By the time she left at the age of twelve, she had collected second and first class passes as well.

However, by the late 1880s only third class certificates were being obtained. This was not due to any decline in standard but to a definite policy. Capable girls were put in for the third class when they were twelve or thirteen, so that if they left early they would have something to show for their schooling. If they were successful and willing to stay,

³³. D & T 1871–1913, pp. 100, 112, 116; Charity Commission Report 183, p. 470; Miss Bastow's Obituary *KN* 16 December 1944; Scrap book 1926–49, p. 85 — article about the closure of the Preparatory School.

³⁴. *KN* 27 December 1884.

³⁵. D & T 1871–1913 pp. 133–34.

they were then prepared for the Cambridge Junior examinations. Nearly all the examination girls were taught their class subjects by Miss Mellor herself. Outstanding students were entered for the Cambridge Senior examination around the age of sixteen. To persuade them to stay, they were given special tuition and sometimes the fees were remitted in exchange for assistance in teaching the other girls.³⁶

The decision to enter girls for the examinations of the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington was motivated by different considerations. The aim of the Department was to encourage the study of just those subjects which had been the object of the original Trade school. As with the later General Certificate of Education, passes were accorded in individual subjects but overall certificates were not issued. The Mechanics Institute took the examinations on a large scale and, in a lecture given in 1932, Professor Huxley was to maintain that Keighley won far more South Kensington exhibitions than any other town of comparable size.³⁷

From Miss Mellor's point of view, one of the most important features of the South Kensington system was that the institutions taking part received grants in proportion to the number of passes achieved, an important consideration with a school whose room for manoeuvre was limited by the size of its income from fees. Some of the examinations proved unexpectedly attractive to the girls. The elementary hygiene and physiology examinations were particularly popular and studies for the botany papers were to establish a tradition which lasted almost as long as the grammar school itself.

The Stage One mathematics course was also taken up, possibly because it was easier than the Cambridge one, as few of the girls went on to the harder Stage Two. Assessing the standard of arithmetic in the school is far from easy. The yearly reports of the Inspectors in the 1880s profess satisfaction but there is a suspicion that they did not adopt as rigorous an attitude as they might have done with an equivalent boys' school. For instance, it is difficult to know what to make of Professor Miall's comment in 1890 that attention should be given to expeditious ways of work, e.g. in multiplying and dividing by 100.³⁸ What were the girls doing? Were they writing down a figure a hundred times and then totalling them instead of just adding two noughts, or attempting to get the answer by long division rather than by moving the decimal point two places to the left? Not a very reassuring picture.

More straightforward was the interest in the art papers. Many students were successful in both freehand drawing and model drawing, and art was to provide an opening for a number of students. The career of Alice Wright shows the possibilities for an intelligent girl. She won one of the first entrance exhibitions offered by the school in 1882 at the age of thirteen. In 1884 she got a First Division certificate in the third class of the College of Preceptors examinations. In 1885 she passed the Cambridge Junior examination. The same year she moved up to the second class College of Preceptors Certificate, once more being placed in the First Division and being awarded a distinction in Art. She also won a special certificate for freehand drawing among her seven successes in the South Kensington examinations. In 1886 she got her Cambridge Senior Certificate. By this time she was already a pupil teacher and receiving free tuition in return for assistance in the school. She remained on the staff until 1890.

The close co-operation between the school and the Keighley College of Science and Art was undoubtedly responsible for introducing her to her future husband, Reginald

³⁶. Details from prize lists published in *KN*. Comment about no special tuition is from the Charity Commission Report of 1893.

³⁷. *KN* 13 July 1932.

³⁸. The poor standard in 1872 is referred to by Mrs Groves in her reminiscences at Speech Day 1933, *School Magazine* xvi Summer 1934, p. 33. For Professor Miall's comment see *KN* 27 Dec. 1890.

Smith. He was an art teacher from Gargrave who became Head of the Art Department at the Keighley College of Science and Art. A number of his paintings can be seen in the Keighley Reference Library. When the new school at Greenhead was opened in 1934, a former governor, Miss Lupton, presented it with his painting 'Winter in Wharfedale'. Sadly, he was drowned in the Strid, not far from the view in the picture, later the same year. It is a pity that none of Miss Wright's own work has survived. Curiously her niece, Margaret Wright, followed a similar path, marrying Percival Moore, a teacher on the staff of the Keighley College of Science and Art. He ended his career as Principal of the Southampton School of Art.³⁹

Nor was music neglected. One of Miss Mellor's neighbours when she lived in Holkar Street was Miss Rebecca Carrodus, the sister of the famous Keighley violinist, John Tiplady Carrodus.⁴⁰ She herself was a pianist and she was persuaded to give lessons and prepare the girls for the music examinations of Trinity College. She may well have been the person who persuaded the governors first of all to pay for the hire of a piano, instead of charging the girls extra, and then to purchase one for the school.⁴¹ However, there was none of the over emphasis on instrumental music which apparently existed in some girls' schools and provoked an outburst by one West Riding headmaster to the Bryce Commission of 1895. Miss Carrodus was already 53 in 1881 and the references to Trinity College disappear from the prize list after 1887. This did not mean that the girls ceased either to play musical instruments or to study theory but the activities were carried on by means of private lessons with instructors in the town. For example, one of the first pupils to play upon the new piano may well have been Edith Butterfield, who was to be organist at the Temple Street Methodist Church for over 50 years but she received instruction from her father, who took pupils.

From 1883 the great strength of the school was to be in vocal music because in that year Miss Mellor secured the part time services of Mr William Scott Wilkinson.⁴² Billy Wilks, as he was known affectionately to successive generations of Keighley folk, was born at Trawden near Colne in 1851. At the age of eight he went to work in a cotton mill. The following year his parents moved to Keighley where he worked first at Fleece Mill and then for the Marriners. While working for the Marriners he joined their band. Among the players was a certain John Midgley, who is reputed to have invented the double slide trombone. Billy learned to play it too and he was taught to play the violin by William Haggas.

Haggas was also responsible for awakening Billy's interest in vocal music. When he started singing at the age of twelve, his voice puzzled his tutor for, after trying him a time or two, he said, 'ay ah doan't naw what ta think abaht thee! Go to t'baas.' The problem must have been that his voice was breaking early because, at the age of 18, he sang the first solo at the opening of the United Methodist Church in Cavendish Street. Later he sang with Maria Illingworth, the distinguished Keighley soprano, when she returned to give a concert in her native town. But it was to be as a trainer of choirs,

³⁹. Examination record from *KN* 2 Feb. 1884, 17 Jan. 1885, 26 Dec. 1885 and 24 Dec. 1886. Scholarship and school teaching from *D I* 1871-1913, pp. 91, 112, 117, 123 and 131. Information about her marriage supplied by Jack Wright from his family history researches. Miss Lupton's bequest is mentioned in *School Magazine* vol. XVI Summer 1934, p. 26.

⁴⁰. The 1881 Census gives Miss Carrodus as living at 5 Holkar Street. Miss Mellor is not mentioned but the school advertisement of 1884 and 1885 gives her address as 4 Holkar Street. By 1891 she had moved to 5 Drake Street.

⁴¹. *D & T* 1871-1913, pp. 102 and 106.

⁴². Details from an article celebrating his eightieth birthday in *KN* 28 March 1931 and his obituary *KN* 1 Jan. 1938.

rather than as a singer, that Billy was to make his name. He began by singing in the choir of the Parish Church and then became the choirmaster.

He was still the choirmaster when Miss Mellor secured his services, so the intermediary may well have been the Rector, the Rev H. J. Longdon, who was an ex-officio governor and whose daughter was attending the school. Fortunately his interest in the stage had led him to take elocution lessons from old Mrs Summerscales, which made him an acceptable teacher of young ladies. There is not space in which to detail his career. Sufficient to say that he taught at the Girls' School for thirty years, at the Boys' School for fifty years and at Bingley for twelve years. For many years he also conducted the Keighley Elementary Schools Choir. This was all quite apart from his work with adult choirs.

When Billy first came to the girls' school he taught singing by ear alone but he was soon entering the girls for the examinations of the Tonic Sol-Fa College and many of them passed, even though Billy had never taken them himself. Not until he was over fifty could he be persuaded to study for them. Eventually he became a Licentiate of the Tonic Sol-Fa College in 1905.

Writing in the School Magazine of 1953, one old girl remembered how he was responsible for persuading the school to adopt 'Forty Years On', the Harrow School song, as its own school song. Another concluded her memories of Strawberry Street: 'I cannot leave out the choral music of Friday afternoons, when the School assembled in the Hall and enjoyed the unique instruction of Mr Wilkinson. 'My dear young ladies,' he used to call us, and we all felt horrible hypocrites and loved him for his illusion. Those national songs we sang with such gusto! For which we were rewarded occasionally by hearing one of the Dolly Dialogues. The week always ended happily with the Music lesson. The mistress who presided as chaperone had piles of books before her to mark, but I suspect that she shared our delight more than she plodded through the exercises.' Later generations may have enjoyed more sophisticated instruction but there was only one Billy Wilks. William Whitaker, his comrade in many a choral competition, truly said: 'As a teacher of choral music he was without a peer.'

The rise in numbers created problems with the buildings. The necessity of using one large room for all the classes had never been satisfactory and as early as 1874 the undercroft was already in use for the youngest children.⁴³ The original schoolroom had been designed for 100 pupils. By 1882 there was already well in excess of that number and more accommodation became imperative. A new building was added at the southern end, attached to the old like the bar of the letter T. The design was Gothic Revival to harmonise with the existing building. At ground level there were two new classrooms and there was a basement which acted as a covered playground for the girls when the weather was bad. The addition proved to be inadequate because the numbers continued to rise. In 1887 another wing was begun which was joined to the other end of the original building in a similar style. The opening ceremony took place in July 1888 and the *Keighley News* described the new wing as 15 yards long by about eight yards wide and providing two classrooms in the upper storey and a large room below, all of which are well lighted and fitted with hot water apparatus and every convenience. A staircase gives independent access from the new wing to the courtyard below.⁴⁴

The Charity Commission Report of 1893 gives us a good picture of what the school

⁴³. D & T 1871-1913, p. 36, 20 Nov. 1874.

⁴⁴. Plan and elevations of the extensions can be seen in the Keighley Reference Library BMT KE Register 6/13 numbers 1633 and 2198. The *KN* description comes in an article in the issue for the 28 July 1888 largely devoted to the bazaar in aid of the Cottage Hospital.

was like at the time.⁴⁵ The report was not as euphoric about the extensions as the *Keighley News*. 'The present school is in its front elevation a one-storeyed building having five rooms on the ground floor, of which one is a central hall from which the others open; and the head mistress's private room. The largest room, part of the addition made in 1887, though having an open timber roof of considerable height, is very difficult to ventilate by ordinary means and will perhaps require some structural modification. The basement is level with the ground at the back. It contains a large exercise room, also used as a classroom: a large cookery room, occupied by the kindergarten school; a good cloak-room for the girls, and a very small and dingy common-room for the teaching staff.' The Commissioners were not happy with the conditions in which the staff had to work but they could not think of any alternatives. All they were able to suggest was that the room could be made more habitable, 'by excavating the ground outside on a long slope and thus admitting light and air.'

At Christmas 1893 there were 165 pupils. Of these 60 were from the artisan class. Three of the artisan class were there on Drake and Tonson scholarships awarded by the foundation and eight had County Council Scholarships. Four of the 101 non-artisan class were also County Council scholars. There are some intriguing details about Miss Mellor's salary. Like her three predecessors she was paid a fixed £80 per annum plus £2 for each of the first 20 pupils on the roll, £1 10s 0d for the next 20 and £1 for the remainder. In the year of the report, the capitation fees brought her gross salary to £270 6s 8d. When the Keighley Town Council had the scheme explained to them, some members found the fact that the capitation fees were more than double the fixed salary rather singular.⁴⁶

The Report shows that by this time Miss Mellor had eight assistants and that a ninth was expected shortly, which allowed for more variety. School started with a form of religious ceremony. Callisthenics had disappeared. In 1883 the Clerk had been instructed to make inquiries for a suitable Drill Sergeant to exercise the girls⁴⁷ but the idea was not acted upon and Miss Mellor settled for a daily musical drill. One Prize Giving account described an exhibition of musical exercises by the girls using dumb bells, not the most felicitous wording to late twentieth-century ears. Both French and German were now taught. The class teacher was expected to handle the French but there were specialists both for German and for mathematics, other than arithmetic. The girls were allowed some mental relaxation each afternoon with cookery and dressmaking being added to drawing and music.⁴⁸

The Report ended by saying that Miss Mellor 'has won the complete confidence of the governors and the townspeople, and it is to her credit the great success of the school is principally due.' Sadly a footnote had to be added. Miss Mellor fell ill in 1891 and took an extended holiday in the Mediterranean, with the governors' blessing, but without permanent effect. By the time the Report was finalised she was dead. On the 16th February 1894 the governors 'heard with deep regret the fatal termination of Miss Mellor's illness.' They commended the 'efficiency and conscientiousness with which she carried out every department of her educational work ... To her the school was no mere collection of classes. Every individual girl was an object of her affectionate solicitude.' Their expression of 'warm esteem' for her was addressed to the scholars 'who will best

⁴⁵ Endowed Charities (Administrative County of the West Riding and the County Borough of Bradford) II North Western Division, HMSO 1897. Despite the date it goes no further than the end of 1893.

⁴⁶ KN 24 Feb. 1894.

⁴⁷ D & T 1871-1913 p. 100.

⁴⁸ There was temporary class in 1882 but it did not become a regular fixture until 1889 — see D T 1871-1913 pp. 92, 128 and 144.

know how to appreciate it.' The governors hoped that they 'may not soon forget the good example that has been set you in a humble, earnest, industrious and thoroughly conscientious life.' Sentiments which were repeated by the Rev. E. D. Cremer, Longdon's successor as Rector of Keighley, at the Prize Giving the following December.⁴⁹ While it is usual at such times to honour the good an individual has done and forget her peccadillos, Miss Mellor's record speaks for itself.

The death of Miss Mellor brought to an end the opening period in the school's history. Looking back it seems to us that the movement for educational equality between boys and girls was only just beginning but to contemporaries a revolution had already taken place. The great textile manufacturer, Sir Isaac Holden, addressing the Prize Giving of 1882 in his capacity as President of the Mechanics' Institute 'remembered his mother saying that her father would not allow her to learn because he said it was a bad thing. But now they thought and society thought ... that it was desirable that girls should be educated. He did not see why females should not be improved and refined as well as the male sex.'⁵⁰

There were still taboo areas. Speaking at the 1881 Prize Giving, Mr B. S. Brigg, who was to be elected as Keighley's first Lord Mayor the following year, noted rather sourly that 'he found the girls had made some progress in political economy. He for one thought they would be no worse if they left that one alone.' For him the prime objective of their education should be to enable them 'to sympathise with men in their pursuits and women in their troubles and duties.'⁵¹

In 1894, John Clough took a more pragmatic view. Votes for women were still over 20 years away but, with each generation becoming progressively more independent, it would be unwise to leave them in ignorance. 'In these days, when there was so much talk of the modern woman and the revolting daughter, all would admit', he thought, 'the necessity of girls' education being attended to. If they were to take their part in public matters, and to be permitted to form and act upon their own opinions, it was well that they should have the proper mental equipment.'⁵² A rather grudging attitude, we might think, but a revolution in thought for nineteenth-century men.

^{49.} *KN* 21 Dec. 1894.

^{50.} *KN* 23 c. 1882.

^{51.} *KN* 2 Dec. 1881.

^{52.} *KN* 21 Dec. 1894.

A BRADFORD DEPARTMENT STORE AND ITS VICTORIAN FOUNDERS

By Peter Holmes

Bradford shoppers will remember that the department store run by Debenhams at the foot of Manningham Lane which unfortunately burnt down in 1979 was formerly 'Busby's'. If their memories are very long they will recall that until 1929 the shop traded under the name of John Holmes and Co. Ltd. It is with the family and business interests of John Holmes that this paper is concerned.

THE SHOP

John Holmes certainly did found the store, but it was his father, Thomas, who first set up shop in Bradford and any history of the business must begin with him. Thomas established a draper's shop at 8, Bank Street in about 1824.¹ He was 35 at the time and had acquired sufficient savings and experience by then to begin trading in a central position, close to the newly erected covered market. He had moved to Bradford in 1807 at the age of 18, coming the short distance from Millshaw in the chapelry of Beeston, parish of Leeds. Thomas's own father, John (1750/1–1810) was a clothier in the worsted trade, who seems to have enjoyed some local prominence; at least he has an obituary notice (as does his wife) in the Leeds newspapers.² But it is difficult to say much about him since he has left no probate records and his birth and ancestry are uncertain. He seems to have farmed the Millshaw toll on the Leeds to Elland turnpike from 1801 to 1809, and the general impression is of respectability, and very modest wealth.³ Thomas's mother's family were called Leathley and were likewise clothiers, at Morley, of moderate means (her father left legacies totalling £1,000 in 1792). His maternal aunt's family, Webster, were also parish worthies in Morley, working the first power-driven woollen mill in Yorkshire, the Crank Mill.⁴ Whether Thomas had inherited much to put into his drapery is unclear. However he did have the advantage of coming from a trading background with local contacts, for, as a worsted manufacturer and also as a Methodist local preacher, his father would have been known in Bradford.

Thomas was not apprenticed as a draper, but began his working life as a teacher in the Leeds academy of James Sigston, a Methodist, at some age under 18.⁵ It is possible that he had himself been educated by Sigston and had merely stayed on at school.

¹ The principal sources used were the genealogical ones (censuses, directories, wills, certificates); in addition, *Illustrated Weekly Telegraph*, Bradford, 8/1/1887; J. R. Beckett (ed.), *Bradford Portraits* (Bradford, 1892), 50; Obituary of John Holmes in *Bradford Observer*, 28/6/1892. My thanks are due to Miss E. M. Wilmott of Bradford Central Library. There are dramatic photographs of Debenhams' on fire in J. Appleby, *Bygone Bradford* (Telegraph and Argus, 1995), 13–14.

² *Leeds Mercury*, August and September 1810; *Leeds Intelligencer*, September 1810 (John only).

³ W[est] R[iding] R[egister of] D[eeds, Wakefield] EC/339/521; FK/166/203. John Holmes is probably to be identified with the John Holmes baptised at Rothwell on 5 December 1750, the son of John Holmes, a farmer of Carlton, whose family had been long resident in the parish of Rothwell.

⁴ W. Smith, *History of Morley* (London, 1876), 140–41; *idem*, *Morley Ancient and Modern* (London, 1886), 231–33, 263; *Thoresby Society Publications*, vol. 38 (1937), p. 159, *op. cit.* vol. 44 (1955), p. 24.

⁵ 'Biographical Sketch' of Thomas Holmes, *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, 1865, 1144–47.

Teaching not being to his liking, or for some other reason, Thomas Holmes moved to Bradford. Here, having rejected what at first seemed to be a vocation to become a Methodist minister, he settled to work as a book-keeper, or accountant (both descriptions of him are used in contemporary sources). He was employed by John Wood, who had at the end of Bridge Street a manufactory of ivory, tortoise-shell and bone combs, of lanthorn leaves and leather ink-bottles, 'for which the town of Bradford had a reputation before it became famous for worsteds', to quote Cudworth. Wood was the father of John Wood junior, the factory reformer and associate of Richard Oastler. It is unlikely that Wood senior employed many book-keepers. Holmes is also to be found engaged in what seem to be business deals of some sort from 1816, when his name appears first in the West Riding Register of Deeds in connection with the purchase of houses in Bradford. In Baines's Directory of 1822 he is listed among the Miscellany, which suggests that he was reasonably well known locally. About two years later he opened his draper's shop, when Wood died and his business was wound up. It would seem then that Holmes had the drapery trade thrust upon him, since it was Wood's death rather than anything else which led him to set up shop.⁶

Thomas's business moved its premises twice before his death in 1862. He stayed at Bank Street until 1832 when he removed to a better position on the corner of Darley Street and Kirkgate. Here, he leased 36, Kirkgate and 45-6, Darley Street from the Rawsons, lords of the manor and principal landowners of Bradford. This shop was at the very heart of Bradford, facing across Kirkgate to the Post Office and Piece Hall, next door to the Bank and Exchange, and looking at the Market Place on the other side of Darley Street. Kirkgate was the great street of drapers in the early nineteenth century. Baines's Directory for 1822 lists eight, and the Post Office Directory of 1853 names as many as 23. In 1857, after 25 years in this position, the business (now Thomas Holmes and Son) moved again. This time the move was not entirely voluntary, since it was in response to the needs of the Bradford Banking Company, which wished to expand its premises in the block between Darley Street and Piccadilly. As a result, an agreement was made between the Rawsons, the Bank and the Holmeses, enabling the Bank to erect its new building. The drapery moved up Darley Street to Number 26, which on the face of it looked like a poor exchange. In fact, it was the making of the firm.

By now the running of the business was largely in the hands of Thomas's son, John, who gave his name to the department store which started on this new site. From the 1820s Thomas Holmes had offered a number of financial services in addition to selling cloth. He was, after all, an 'accountant', and it was not unusual for drapers to act as bankers and investment consultants of various sorts. A directory of 1830 describes him as trading as a 'canal and other share-broker', and he can fairly claim to have been the first share-broker in Bradford.⁷ For a number of years this trade was carried on reasonably well in conjunction with the drapery but with the railway boom of the mid-1840s and when his son, John, was of an age to take charge of business, he opened an office at 10, Piccadilly, exclusively for his financial business. This was the great time for the expansion of provincial stock-broking and, by 1845, Bradford had 16 men engaged in that work. Thomas Holmes dealt in shares and in addition sold insurance at his office. As early as 1828, while still at Bank Street, he was agent for Manchester Assurance, a fire and life company. By 1857, Holmes also represented Pelican Life, who had taken over

⁶. WRRD GK/39/39; GU/282/302; GU/283/303; KR/75/53. W. Cudworth, *Rambles Round Horton* (Bradford, 1886), 62.

⁷. W. A. Thomas, *Provincial Stock Exchanges* (London, 1973), 64.

Manchester's life business,⁸ and had sufficient faith in the company to have purchased a life insurance policy from them himself. Various other financial services were provided by Thomas Holmes, who described himself occasionally as a 'Commission Agent'. He is to be found, for example, in 1834 acting as agent for the creditors of a local wool-stapling company in liquidation.⁹ These other business interests took Thomas away from the drapery and left the control of the shop now in his son's hands. At some point in the 1840s Thomas moved out of the shop and set up house with his wife in Drewton Street, leaving John living-in; another sign of how control was passing to the son. Nevertheless, neither Drewton Street nor (above all) Piccadilly was far from the shop, so no doubt a degree of control was still exercised by the father.

Thomas Holmes had laid the foundations on which his son was to build, but John established the department store himself. There was already diversity in Thomas Holmes's draper's shop, apart from the broking business. He was described in 1845 as a hosier, haberdasher and undertaker, in addition to being a linen and woollen draper. Funeral work was a common adjunct to the business of a draper at the time, and much expensive cloth was sold to the bereaved. An advertisement in a Directory in 1856 describes the firm as silk-merciers as well as drapers, offering 'funerals furnished with hearses, mourning coaches, palls, cloaks, hats, bands etc on most reasonable terms.'¹⁰ But when Thomas had wished to expand his business interests, he had hived off to a new office and developed as a broker. There was no shortage of capital for Thomas to invest. In his will he mentioned an expensive insurance policy, worth at least £700, and also a number of houses he owned in Hanover Square, a fashionable residential area, while other property deals can be traced in the West Riding Register of Deeds. When his son wished to expand and invest surplus capital, he did so within a single shop and in the retail sphere, thus creating the store. Three factors allowed this to happen. First, no doubt the death of his father in 1862 gave him greater freedom and absolute control of half of his father's estate, which was valued for probate at between £9,000 and £10,000 personalty. Second, in the 1870s, fashions in shopping changed and large stores began to appear all over the country, in imitation of the monster shops being developed in the capital and abroad. Transport developments and rising national prosperity also provided a market for such a form of retailing. In Bradford, shops on the same lines were developed by Brown, Muff and Co; Lingard; and George Thorpe.¹¹ Thirdly, John Holmes was well placed, some way up Darley Street, to expand. The move to that position in 1857 had been a bold one, and perhaps in a sense forced onto the firm. It had involved leaving the principal shopping thoroughfare, Kirkgate, and opening up in what was largely a residential area, and moreover a short walk up the hill from the town centre. But the advantage of the new position was that it gave access to neighbouring houses into which the business might in the future expand. The successive enlargements of the shop in Darley Street can be traced in the West Riding Register of Deeds and in the directories. Houses in Darley Street were leased from the Rawsons as the tenancies fell vacant, and new shop-fronts were erected to suit the purposes of the firm. Property at the rear of the shop was also purchased, allowing the store to break through to Piccadilly where, after the passage of time had removed shop-keepers with sitting-tenancies, a new frontage and additional entrance to the shop were made. The expansion from 26 to 24, Darley Street came very

⁸ C. Trebilcock, *Phoenix Assurance and the Development of British Insurance* vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1985), 522ff.

⁹ WRRD LR/373/357; LS 394/414.

¹⁰ Bradford Record Office DB/6/6/7. Thomas Holmes's bill of 1841 for funeral expenses of John Lister, Mount Pleasant, Manningham (£26 4s 8½d); T. Holmes & Son's bill of 1854 for funeral expenses of Christopher Horsfall (£70 5s 6d).

¹¹ J. Ayers, *Architecture in Bradford* (Bradford, 1974), 42, 44.

soon after the initial removal in 1857, but the main period of enlargement came in the early and late 1870s when in two bursts first Number 28, Darley Street then 13 and 15, Piccadilly were acquired. Further growth occurred in the early 1890s when 22, 32 and 32a, Darley Street were incorporated. By now the store occupied what appears to be the present site of Marks and Spencer.

In January 1887 a newspaper report in a Bradford newspaper, *The Illustrated Weekly Telegraph*, describes what is recognisable as a small department store, although it is described as a 'warehouse'. The shop was said to cover, at this time, a ground area of 800 square yards and a total floor space of 14,000 square feet. The basement was devoted to carpet, bedstead and furnishing departments and also to the 'packing rooms' and 'parcel offices'. The ground floor was divided between the gent.'s and youth's outfitting departments, the lace, gloves, hosiery and fancy goods department; the silk and dress fabrics department; and the table linen and 'general Manchester goods' departments. The second floor was described as having large and spacious showrooms, with 'fitting-on rooms' for ladies, next to the ladies' and children's departments. The third and fourth floor formed 'large and comfortable workrooms, well lighted, well warmed and well ventilated', presumably where made-to-measure clothing was manufactured. The Bradford Museum Service has a number of dresses with John Holmes's label among its collection. At the very top of the shop were the kitchen, dining-room and bedrooms for employees. The piecemeal development of the business and also the steepness of Darley Street were reflected in the shop's outward appearance, as the paper reports; 'The buildings are not, like those of some of the other leading firms in the town, marked by any striking architectural features. Instead of presenting one long and imposing facade which will at once fix the eye and impress the mind with the magnitude of the concern which requires such a huge pile for its accommodation, the premises are rather a collection of shops, with nothing to indicate their common purpose except the name of the firm repeated again and again over the large shop windows'. This understated appearance may have contributed to the 'high-class' nature of the trade which the shop sought to encourage (Fig. 1).

By the time this newspaper report was written (1887), John Holmes himself had largely retired from business, being close to 70, and his son, John Holmes junior, was running the shop, in conjunction with W. E. Kirby as a partner. Kirby was a Methodist, born in Bridlington, and first appears as a business connection of the family when in 1862 he registered Thomas Holmes's will at the Registry of Deeds in Wakefield. He was named as a referee in 1881 by Samuel Holmes, son of John senior, by which time Kirby must have been taken into partnership. In John Holmes senior's will, proved in 1892, Kirby's share of the business was said to be worth £3,000. The future lay with the Kirby's. John Holmes junior retired from trade through ill-health not very long after his father's death, and died himself in 1901, leaving a young family. The Kirby's bought out the family not long after. When the business became a limited company, with capital of £30,000 in 1914, it did so in the hands of the Kirby family. They made the move to Manningham Lane in 1918 when 'Bradford's new shopping centre' opened in premises built in the 1890s and likened by Ayers to the Law Courts in the Strand. Here John Holmes's shop advertised itself as being a hundred years old; not quite true, but indicative of the value of the name and good-will it brought with it. It was the Kirby's who sold the Company to Busby's in 1929.¹²

The firm has left no business records, but some description of its employees can be

¹² Public Record Office, Board of Trade 31/22556/138014; M. Corinna, *Fine Silks and Oak Counters* (London, 1978), 143; *Yorkshire Observer*, 23/9/1918, 7/10/1929.

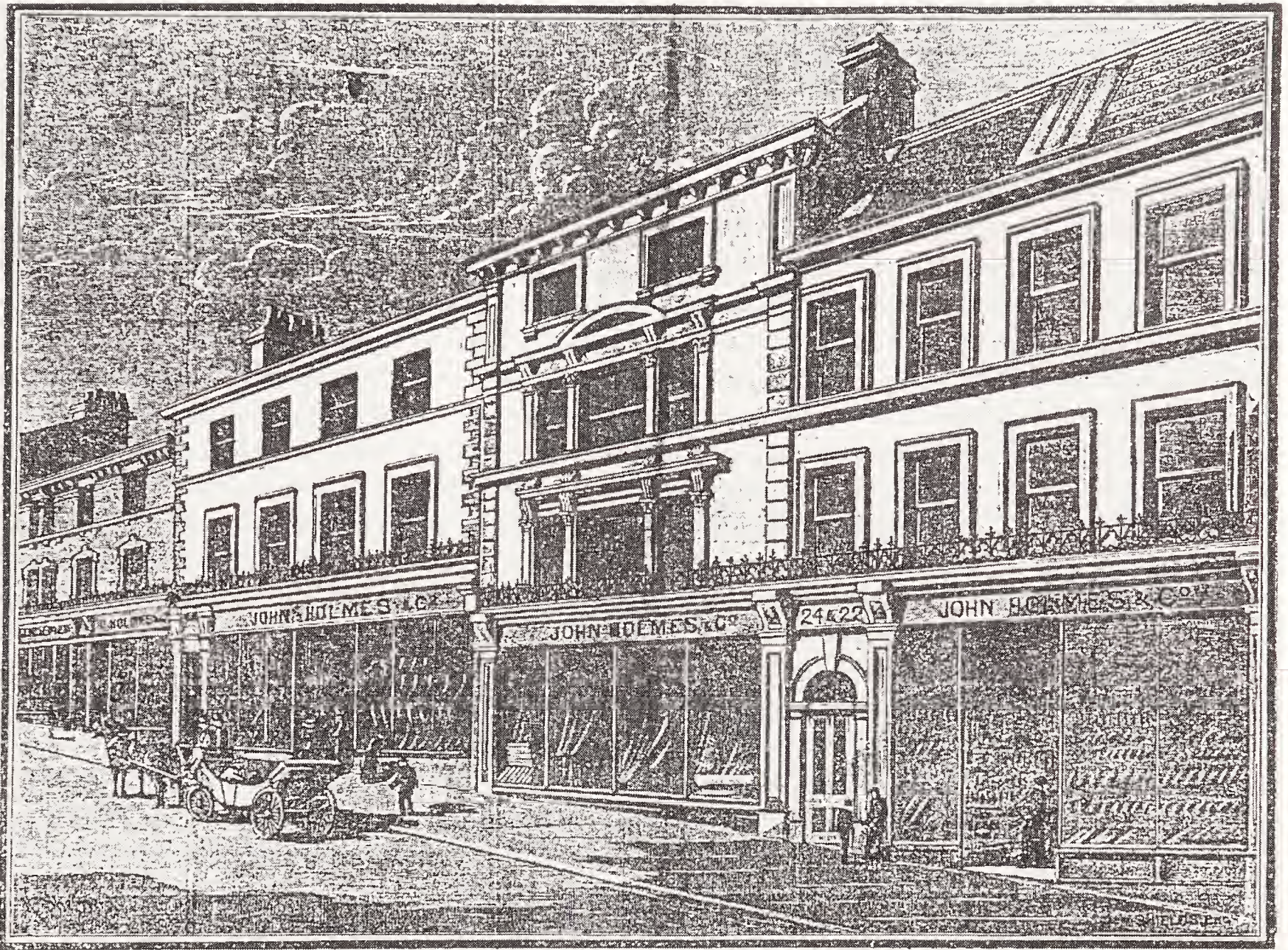


Fig. 1. Messrs John Holmes & Company's warehouse, from *Illustrated Weekly Telegraph* 8 January 1887. Bradford Libraries.

made from the Censuses. In 1841, Thomas Holmes (with his wife and a female servant) lived on the corner of Kirkgate with his son, one draper's assistant and two apprentices. He may have employed additional living-out men, but in comparison with his draper neighbour, John Monies, who had eleven living-in members of staff (some, his relatives), Thomas's shop was poorly staffed. In 1851, when John alone lived at the shop, the resident establishment was about the same: two assistants and two apprentices. The 1851 Census also shows that Holmes employed one further boy, who must have lived out. In 1861, the shop, now in Darley Street, had twice the staff and John Holmes did not live in. There was a resident manager, George Bolton, a member of the family (Thomas's step-nephew) and four assistants, with three apprentices and the inevitable female domestic servant. These drapery employees in 1841, 1851, and 1861 were all males, all English and all young. The assistants were aged between 19 and 30, and the apprentices were between 15 and 19. In 1851 all the employees were from Yorkshire. In 1861, by contrast, only three out of the nine employees were from within the county, the rest were natives of London, Truro, Chester, St Helen's, Burnley and Birmingham. The Cornishman, Samuel Timms, moved fairly quickly from his position with Holmes and by late 1862 was working as a draper in Exeter, from where he was required to swear an affidavit in connection with a slight problem over Thomas's will, which he had witnessed. Staff turnover was rapid. No one in this period was employed by the firm for as long as ten years to judge from the Census, apart from George Bolton (in any case a member of the

family) who was Manager in 1861 and ten years before had been Thomas Holmes's living-in Book-keeper in the share-broking business. Even he is not to be found in Holmes's employ by 1871, when he was married to the daughter of James Rhodes, a Methodist timber merchant, and had set himself up in that trade.

The next three Censuses show a great change in employment. There had been considerable expansion: in 1871, there are 16 employees on the premises; in 1881, there are 26; and in 1891, 29. But the biggest change is the emergence of female employees in addition to the domestic servants. In 1871, 1881 and 1891, on average over half the living-in workers are female. The change from a draper's shop to a department store involved employment in new areas: dressmakers, milliners, a mantle-maker, with saleswomen and outfitters, including in 1881 two manageresses. The men that were employed as assistants and apprentices continued to be young: all under 30 still. In 1871, five of the males were from Yorkshire and of the other three, two from London and one from Worcestershire. In 1881, roughly the same proportion: seven males from Yorkshire and one each from Worcestershire, Lancashire, Lincolnshire and Durham. In 1891, the ratio of Yorkshiremen to those from outside the county was much the same. The female employees were very different. First, they were generally older: in 1871, the housekeeper was 43, two of the women were in their 30s and all the rest were over 21. In 1881, the housekeeper was 48 and eight of the other females were over 30. In 1891, the housekeeper was 54 and the other female living-in staff were largely in their 20s and 30s. The females also came from further afield than the men to work in the shop. In 1871, two came from Yorkshire but seven did not; in 1881, four did but 11 did not; in 1891, the picture was roughly the same. In 1871, one of the strangers came from Ireland and another from Scotland, three from London and one each from Huntingdonshire and Hampshire. In 1881, two had been born in Staffordshire, two in Surrey, two in Worcestershire, and one each in London, Herefordshire, Nottinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Worcestershire and Northamptonshire. In 1891, the position was similar, with one of the housemaids having been born in America (the enumerator gives no more details). Clearly work was easily available for women in Yorkshire in the textile industry, and in order to fill vacancies at the shop it was necessary to look further afield, to areas of lower female employment in the South and Midlands. Work may not have been very attractive in the days before shop-hours legislation. Once again, the Holmeses failed to keep any of their staff for as long as ten years between Censuses. This may reflect the traditions in shop-keeping as well as exploitation of workers, and also the expanding opportunities for work-people in this field during the 'retailing revolution', as it has been called.

THE FAMILY

Very little can be discovered about the family life of the Holmeses. Vital records give a hazy picture. 'Many births and many deaths' best describes the situation before 1850; 'many births and fewer deaths' between 1850 and 1880; and in the next generation 'fewer births and fewer deaths'. Thomas himself was the youngest of seven, all born in the 1770s and 1780s, but when his father and mother died in 1810 — he was 20 then — four of his siblings were certainly dead, possibly more. Thomas's own family of seven were all born in the 1810s and early 1820s and all but two of them were dead by the end of 1850. The next generation, John's children, born in the 1850s and 1860s were healthier as children and lived longer. At least two died as babies, but six outlived their parents and one lived until 1958. The same healthiness and size is seen in the family of John's sister, Mary Anne, who had 11 children, of whom probably six outlived the century. John junior's family was limited to four (including one set of twins), born in the 1880s, all of whom lived into the next century. His two brothers also had smaller families: of

four and two. Death restricted family size not only through child mortality, but also in another way. Thomas's first wife died in 1824 after having seven children, and when he remarried, his second wife had none. John junior's first wife died fairly promptly after their marriage and produced no children. In return, John junior's widow remarried after his death in 1901, although she did not start a new family.

Thomas's wife and children who died in the early years of the century were buried in the same plot in Kirkgate Chapel Graveyard, but death after 1855 meant Undercliffe Cemetery and (as non-Anglicans) the Unconsecrated part. A splendid, but by the standards of the day a rather restrained, monument stands there marking the graves of Thomas and John, their two second wives and a number of children — a classical column surmounted by a draped urn. John had to be brought back to Bradford for burial there in 1892 after his death in Bowness-on-Windermere. In the same way, his father, Thomas, had been translated from Harrogate in 1862 for burial in Bradford.¹³ Both men had gone to these resorts to try to recover their health, changing family holiday fashions, no doubt, reflected in their choice of place. Thomas's second son, Samuel, had also died in Harrogate in 1850. When John junior died in 1901, it was (like his father) in Bowness, but he was buried locally. In 1892 John senior had been given, like his father 30 years before, an elaborate Victorian funeral, attended by civic and mercantile dignitaries. The procession passed through Darley Street, where most of the shops were shut 'as a mark of respect' (as the *Bradford Observer* reports), to Carlisle Street Methodist Chapel for a service attended by five Methodist ministers, and thence to the Cemetery.

The business passed to the eldest son through three generations, but a fairly equitable system of inheritance applied nevertheless. By his will, made in 1850, and proved in 1862, Thomas left his property equally between his one surviving son and one surviving daughter, but charged the estate with an annuity of £100, increased by codicil to £120, and a life interest in one of his houses in Hanover Square for his widow (or an annuity of £50 if she remarried). By the same codicil, the son was given £1,000 out of the drapery stock and the son-in-law £500 from an insurance policy, and the widow a legacy of £200 from the same policy. John himself had more of a problem as he approached death in 1892 since, although he had no widow to keep, he had six children to satisfy, not two. The business he left to his eldest son, but then he charged the firm with the sum of £9,000 (about half the value of the estate), to be divided into 22 parts; five parts for each of his three daughters; four for one younger son; and three for another. The money could be paid as interest at $4\frac{1}{2}\%$, out of the profits of the business, provided that John paid £3,000 to the trustees within ten years. Given the need to preserve the firm intact, it was a generous enough settlement, at least for the girls, who were all unmarried and followed no professions. Frank, the youngest son, must have been a little disappointed with his, the smallest, share. What defects of character (on Frank's or his father's part) lie behind this apportionment is impossible to say. It is interesting to note that the trustees (John junior; the step-cousin and former shop manager, George Bolton; and a local Methodist worthy, S. P. Myers) were also empowered to withhold Frank's share entirely if he misbehaved. John's daughters were provided for and could live reasonably comfortably in St Leonard's-on-Sea until a considerable age. When John junior died in 1901, he simply left his estate in trust to his wife and her brother to be divided equally among his children; there was no question of his son taking over the firm since he was only a child.

Thomas Holmes married twice, in 1814 (aged 23) and in 1827. His son John also married twice, in 1849 (aged 29) and 1853. His other son, Samuel, did not marry before he died at the age of 31. His daughter, Mary Anne, married once, in 1849 (at 24). In

¹³ *Bradford Observer*, 28/8/1862.

the next generation, the three boys all married once, in two cases in their 20s, but none of the girls married at all. Who did they marry? Of the eight marriages it is possible to say something about all of them except that of Frank, who married a Lillian at some date after 1891. Of the others, all married spouses of about their age. They all married people from a fairly close geographical area, all except one born in Yorkshire, and of these all except two from the West Riding. They all married, with one exception, within roughly the same financial, or social, band. Methodism is certainly a link in the marriages, although there was no exclusivity. Thomas's first wife was Mary, the daughter of Eli Jowett, a farmer of East Riddlesden Hall, in Bingley, tenant presumably of the Starkies. He left legacies totalling £600 when he died in 1812, and had been a Wesleyan for 50 years.¹⁴ Thomas Holmes married secondly, Dorothy Bolton, who had been born just inside the North Riding at West Tanfield, and came from a farming family. One of her brothers farmed 123 acres there. Another brother, who had Methodist links, was a draper in Leeds and this may have led to the marriage with Thomas, although the wedding was in Kirkheaton, for no reason that is easily apparent.¹⁵ Mary Ann Holmes, Thomas's daughter, married George Hannibal Isitt, born in Bedford, again the son of a farmer, and himself a shopkeeper. He had come to Bradford from the South as a commercial traveller for Tordoff, a Methodist grocer, and then late in the 1840s set himself up as a grocer and tea-dealer on his own account. Isitt had been brought up in a strictly Methodist background, which doubtless provided a link.¹⁶ John Holmes married first Mary Ann Ambler, daughter of Thomas Ambler, a worsted top manufacturer of Bradford, who had done well in trade as a partner of S. C. Lister. Ambler is described by Cudworth as a 'mechanical genius' and he played some part in the mechanisation of wool-combing, and then retired to 'The Trees' in Manningham. The Amblers had Methodist links, although Mary Ann's brother drifted off to the Anglican church.¹⁷ Secondly, John Holmes married Elizabeth Farrer, daughter of John Farrer of Fagleys, in Eccleshill, a 'landed proprietor' according to the Census, who started life as a wool manufacturer in Armley but inherited from his uncle an estate just north of Bradford. The family were probably not Methodists. John Holmes's father, Thomas, had had business dealings with the Farrers since the 1830s.¹⁸ John junior married (in a Methodist chapel) Edith Clapham, living in Manningham, but from a Keighley family of woolstaplers, yeomen-farmers, and manufacturers. Her father, Henry, had died in 1862 and had been a worsted manufacturer in West Morton.¹⁹ These marriages show that a broad inter-marrying group existed of tradesmen, manufacturers and farmers. The phrase 'inter-marrying group' may sound pompous but it is worth pondering the genealogical fact that the Claphams, Farrers and Amblers (and possibly Holmeses too) were distantly related by eighteenth-century marriages. Only one of the family married outside this group. Samuel married in 1885 Ann Elizabeth Fewlass, who on the Census of 1881 is named as the housemaid in the family home. Since they married in the Parish Church it is even possible that she was not a Methodist, although at least she came from Hull.

If Mary Ann could be married off to a grocer and in the next generation the three girls could live off their father and his estate, what of the boys who did not go into the shop? Samuel Holmes (born 1817) was apprenticed at 14 to Lister, a Quaker surgeon in

¹⁴. *Methodist Magazine*, 1812, p. 794.

¹⁵. My thanks are due to Mrs K. M. Timiney for help with the Boltons.

¹⁶. Beckett, *Bradford Portraits*, 20.

¹⁷. W. Cudworth, *History of Manningham* (Bradford, 1896), 2-3, 42, 114-20, 133-42; L. Ambler, *The Ambler Family* (London, 1924).

¹⁸. Cudworth, *Round About Bradford* (Bradford, 1876), 357.

¹⁹. J. Hodgson, *Textile Manufacture in Keighley* (Keighley, 1879), 194-96.

Bradford, the apprenticeship to last until he was 20. In fact, it was curtailed when Lister fell off his horse and died, despite the efforts of his colleagues and, one hopes, his apprentice. In 1836 Samuel was studying medicine at Manchester, in one of the fore-runners of Owen's College, and then in 1837–38 he spent a year at St Bartholomew's, London. He emerged as a Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons and a Fellow of the Society of Apothecaries. He was appointed as an Honorary Surgeon at the Bradford Infirmary and a medical officer of the Poor Law Board, with a private practice as well.²⁰ The other brother, Thomas, had died at 16 when he was already at work in some form of manufacturing. In the next generation, Frank at the age of 17 is described as a 'stuff merchant's assistant', while another brother, Samuel, aimed higher. He was the best educated of the family. He attended the Grammar School at Bradford for two years until he was 16, and then appears as a student at the newly founded Yorkshire College in Leeds. This then led him to Cambridge, where he was a non-collegiate student at first, but was soon admitted to Queens' College. His Cambridge career ended after two years and he never took a degree. He settled in the end for a more familiar career as a stuff merchant in Leeds.²¹

When Thomas came to Bradford at the beginning of the century he lived in Wakefield Road, or at least by the time he married he lived there. His house was on the present site of the railway station and at the time virtually in the country. His son could recall, at the end of the century, how as a boy he had fished in the brook for minnows and caught butterflies in the fields near the house. The Kirkgate Chapel register gives his address in 1818 as Croft Street and Baines in 1822 gives it as Bridge Street, which would fix the house very securely at the point where the present 'Transport Interchange' is, where Bridge Street changes its name to Wakefield Road and on the corner of Croft Street. This house was near Wood's factory, where Holmes worked. When the shop opened in Bank Street the family moved there. The Kirkgate register describes him as living in Market Street in 1824, which again presumably refers to the corner with Bank Street and hence helps place the shop and establish that the family lived on the premises. The 1841 Census shows Thomas living above the new shop in Kirkgate, which still at that time retained something of its reputation as a fashionable residential street as well as a commercial centre. While the son John also lived in the shop, the other brother, Samuel the surgeon, lived a little way up Darley Street with his grown-up sister. By 1851, Thomas had taken a house in Drewton Street, a short distance to the north, leaving John in full possession of the shop which he was managing alone. Once John started a family, he moved out, again to the north, to the newly developing residential quarters of the town. This represented a social change of some sort perhaps, since his father had been content to live above the shop with his young family. John was to move house roughly every ten years. Trading potential developed as the family moved out and left more room for sales space, storage and accommodation for staff. Family control was maintained by vigilant management, no doubt, but also by having George Bolton, the step-cousin, sleeping in. After he left the business, the matriarchal figure of the resident housekeepers in the shop may have been the most significant feature of control. John's first family home was in Apsley Crescent, where he bought a house in 1860. A contemporary plan in Bradford Central Library shows the ground-plan of the house: a small front garden and a back-yard opening onto a service road, a deep terraced house, with a scullery and

²⁰. Guildhall Library, London, Records of Royal College of Apothecaries; J. H. Bell, 'Some Fragments of Local Medical History', *Bradford Antiquary* 1 (1888), 140–44; *Bradford Observer*, 20/6/1850, 27/6/1850.

²¹. Wakefield Record Office, Bradford Grammar School Register, *Calendar of Yorkshire College, Leeds* (1878–79), p. 91; information kindly supplied by Mr A. G. Hunt, editor of 'The Fitzwilliam Journal', from University and Non-Collegiate records at Cambridge.

conveniences in the back yard. Apsley Crescent was popular with the family, and Mary Ann Isitt lived there after John, with Amblers as neighbours. The Crescent survives, still with a faintly Victorian feel to it. By 1871 John had moved again; this time, with his family at its largest, to his most splendid house, Hollin's (or Holling's) Close in Bolton, perhaps two miles out of the town. Here he occupied what Cudworth describes as a 'fine house', formerly occupied by Tordoff, the grocer, and before him by Lister, agent for the Rawsons and Jowetts.²² Now it is demolished, but the Lodge Cottages are still in existence a little way along Hollin Close Lane; there are also some photographs of the house in Bradford Central Library. John Holmes seems to have changed the name of the house to Holly Mount, a nice piece of Victorian gentility. By 1881 John had moved back a little towards town, now residing at 1-2, North Park Road in (then) fashionable Manningham, opposite Lister Park. It was in Manningham that his son, John junior, also built himself a house. In 1890 he bought a plot 3,275 square yards in area on the corner of Park View Road and Birr Road. This was divided into two plots, on which 6 and 8, Park View Road were built. One of these houses was for John junior and the other conveyed to Herbert Isitt, who was a cousin and an architect, designer of a number of churches and chapels in the area, and also of the Winter Gardens at Morecambe.²³ It is reasonable to suggest that the two new houses were built to plans drawn up by Isitt. John paid for his house (after some complicated legal business with various Isitts) by mortgaging the property with the Bradford Third Equitable Building Society for £1,600, repayable at £12 a month.²⁴ In addition to these Bradford houses, the family seems to have had a more or less permanent base by the last years of the century at Bowness on Windermere, quite easily accessible by rail from Bradford.

Domestic service was endemic in Victorian England and the Censuses show that both the Holmeses and their living-in shop workers had female servants. In 1841, Thomas and his wife had one servant girl, as did Samuel and his sister a few doors away. In 1851 one maid-servant also sufficed for John in the shop and one for Thomas now in Drewton Street. John, with his growing family and his growing income, had a larger establishment than his father in 1861, employing both a house-maid (as had his father) and a nurse. By 1871 he had two maids and a governess as well; in 1881 and 1891 he had a housemaid and cook. His son, in 1891 with a young family employed a nurse and a maid. These domestic servants were generally young. Elizabeth Wills in 1871 was only 13, although they were typically in their 20s, and one was 38. The governess, Jane Southgate, was 48. They came largely from Yorkshire, but generally from rather outside the clothing district, which makes sense. In 1871 (a time of high employment) the governess was from London and the two servants from Surrey and Hampshire. The shop assistants and apprentices also had their domestic servants living in. In 1861 there was one Yorkshire girl of 22 to serve eight staff; in 1871 a housekeeper and two female servants (from Scotland and Ireland) for the staff of 12; in 1881, a housekeeper, cook and housemaid for 23 shop workers. In 1891 the 24 store assistants had a housekeeper, cook, two housemaids, and a kitchen maid, which sounds quite a lot, although presumably the maids had wider responsibilities in the shop itself. Again, turn-over was high both in the shop and at home. No servant stayed as long as ten years according to the Censuses. This no doubt reflects the opportunities for work available in this sphere and the changing requirements of the Holmeses as children grew up and the shop increased in size. It may be typical,

²² Cudworth, *History of Bolton* (Bradford, 1891), 95-97; S. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary*, 5th ed. (London 1842), s.v. Bolton.

²³ *Bradford Observer*, 25/6/1891.

²⁴ WRRD 24/741/397 (1890); 27/851/437 (1890); 39/915/490 (1890); 20/13/11 (1891).

but hardly reflects well on the family as employers. Still, the fact that in 1885 one of the housemaids married one of the sons of the family suggests that relations between employer and employee were not always poor.

POLITICS

Thomas and his son, John, were fairly prominent local Conservatives, which was consistent with their religious outlook, for Methodists had a tendency to Toryism. Bradford was a Liberal town, which might help explain the lack of political involvement of the family. Nevertheless, Thomas played a prominent part in local politics in his middle age. In December 1834, he was co-opted onto the Improvement Commission, which, before Bradford's incorporation, was the body responsible for various aspects of local government.²⁵ The Improvement Commission was not the most energetic of organisations, which was part of its appeal to the substantial townspeople — it cost them little. In the ten years before 1845 Thomas attended 43 meetings, out of a total of 103 which the Commission held. Such a level of attendance may look lax, but it placed him as the sixth most conscientious attender out of a total of 55 members in 1844. When the great struggle for incorporation began, Thomas was squarely among those who opposed the measure, despite the fact that as a shop-keeper in the centre of town he might benefit from the policing and other amenities which would accompany the creation of a borough. Of the anti-incorporationists, Holmes had been throughout his career the second most committed attender, and the third most active in the last year of the Commission's existence. In the end, Bradford did become a municipality and Thomas is to be found signing, with his fellows, the deed which transferred the property of the Commission into the hands of the new corporation.²⁶ After this, it was hardly surprising for Thomas to keep out of local politics, although his son might perhaps have reasonably broken his internal exile, but did not. John contented himself with being on the Infirmary Board and with being an Overseer of the Poor, where his brother-in-law, G. H. Isitt, was to become Chairman. John was also made a Director of the East Morley and Bradford Investment Savings Bank.

It is possible to trace the voting habits of the family through the Poll Books. Thomas is listed in the Bradford Register of Electors from 1836, by virtue of his tenancy of the shop in Kirkgate. In 1837 he voted for John Hardy, the Liberal Conservative candidate and for William Busfield junior, the Conservative. Both lost. In 1841 he again voted for Hardy, who in the great Peelite election came top of the poll. Thomas plumped for Hardy, that is he gave both of his votes to him, ignoring Busfield, who came bottom of the poll. This suggests willing acceptance on Thomas's part of party instructions. When one of the successful candidates of 1841 died in the same year and a by-election was fought, Thomas voted for William Wilberforce, the Conservative, avoiding Busfield, now described as a Liberal Conservative, who won. In 1847 Thomas voted, and so did his two sons, Samuel and John, all by virtue of leasehold properties in Piccadilly, Darley Street and Kirkgate. All three voted Tory, for the two unsuccessful candidates, Henry Wickham and Gathorne Hardy. In 1852, Thomas voted for Wickham again, who was elected, and also (unless there is a misprint) for a Liberal, Robert Milligan, who was a prominent local figure. This political independence is the more remarkable since John, his son, and G. H. Isitt, his son-in-law, resisted the temptation to vote Liberal, plumping instead for Wickham. In 1859, Thomas plumped for Alfred Harris, a Tory (who lost), avoiding Wickham, while John and George Isitt split their votes between Harris and Wickham (who won again). Perhaps Thomas had taken against Wickham for some reason.

²⁵. Cudworth, *Historical Notes on the Bradford Corporation* (Bradford), 1891, 92.

²⁶. J. A. Cooper, *The Corporation Question* (Bradford, 1845), 56–57; WRRD QF/253/256.

None of the family was attracted by the famous Liberal candidate in that poll, Titus Salt. By 1867, Thomas was dead but John continued to defend the Constitution, voting for Matthew Thompson in a by-election. Thompson was a Liberal, but presumably preferable to Edward Miall, the *enfant terrible* of disestablishment and, what is more, a Baptist. No Tory actually stood in Bradford in 1867. G. H. Isitt also preferred Thompson to Miall. In the General Election of 1868 and a by-election the following year, again no Conservative could be found to stand for Bradford, and John Holmes and his brother-in-law Isitt simply abstained from voting, which was presumably Conservative policy. After that, the Ballot Act makes it impossible to follow their voting habits in the borough elections, although newspaper profiles in the early 1890s describe both Holmes and Isitt as Tories. Thomas also voted in the Yorkshire county election in 1848, by virtue of his ownership of freehold property in Hanover Square. He voted for Edmund Denison, the Conservative, who won. As a Tory, Thomas was more at home in Yorkshire than in Bradford. In 1859, Thomas again voted in the county election, in this case for Sir John Ramsden and the Rt Hon. James Wortley, the former a Liberal who won, the latter a Conservative who lost. Perhaps the purpose of this voting was tactical, to keep out the commoner in the election, Francis Crossley. Overall, Thomas's voting habits in Bradford and the West Riding show a certain adaptability, within a generally Tory framework, as do those of his son and son-in-law. A moderate Liberal might be supported but not a Radical, and generally the Holmeses were happiest with old-fashioned Tories.

RELIGION

Apart from business and family, religion was the strongest influence on the Holmeses and their religion was Methodism. Thomas Holmes's parents had been Methodists in the late eighteenth century. His father, John, had been appointed a local preacher (or lay preacher) on the Leeds circuit in 1787.²⁷ John Wesley himself visited Leeds, one of the jewels in his crown, on several occasions in the last years of his life and it is inconceivable that John Holmes would not have seen him. John is to be found in 1801 acting as one of the trustees for the foundation of a Wesleyan chapel in Wortley.²⁸ Like many in the West Riding, John Holmes had come to Methodism from Independency, rather than from the Established Church. At least, he worshipped commonly at the Independent Chapel, St Mary's-in-the-Wood at Morley. All his children were christened there and he, his wife and a number of their children were buried there. To come from Millshaw, their home, to Morley involved some inconvenience, but St Mary's was in a sense his wife's church. Her family, the Leathleys, and her in-laws, the Websters, had links with the chapel going back to the beginning of the century (as trustees and regular attenders) and their horizontal tomb stones can still be seen in the grave-yard there.

Thomas himself was certainly educated in Methodist and independent traditions. A full obituary, printed in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, charts his spiritual progress in the conventional, slightly treacly, language of the day. In 1807, on the anniversary of his christening, and on the day of a Methodist fast, he underwent a conversion: 'He attended the prayer-meeting and became deeply convinced of sin. His distress was so great, that he withdrew from company, shut himself up in his room, and in the tears, confessions, and prayers of the prodigal, sought the mercy of God his Father; while he was praying, the way of salvation opened to his mind, he apprehended Christ his Saviour, his load of sin was taken away, and his heart filled with peace and joy. He did not know the nature

²⁷ Leeds Public Library, John Wray's MS 'History of Leeds Methodism', IV, 77; Leeds Record Office, Methodist Records, Leeds Circuit, Class Lists.

²⁸ WRRD EC/339/521.

of the blessing which he had obtained; but his pious father, on hearing his statement, assured him it was a gracious manifestation of God to his soul in pardoning and adopting love, and exhorted him to cleave to the Lord with all his heart.' At the age of 19 he wrote a form of self-dedication to God, extracted from Philip Doddridge's well-known nonconformist work, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. This dedication Thomas looked at 'tearfully' every month for the rest of his life. Like a good Evangelical, Thomas kept a diary of his spiritual development. According to his obituary, at each stage of his life (interspersed with bereavements) Methodism provided the comfort and support which helped Thomas face up to adversity. Even at the beginning of his adult life when he first moved away from home to Bradford, Thomas could write to his parents: 'I never pray for myself but I remember you, and all my dear friends at Churwell. It makes me thankful and happy to think that we are all joined to the Methodist Society, and desire to save our souls.'

When he had settled in Bradford, Thomas, as a former teacher, was valuable in the Sunday school at the Octagon Chapel, in charge of a senior class of boys, one of whom went on to become a minister. In 1809 at the age of 19, he was appointed a class-leader. This was a considerable responsibility for a young man and he wrote in his diary: 'I tremble with fear, I am totally unfit for the work. I might say with the Psalmist, 'Unless the Lord had been my help, my soul had almost dwelt in silence.' The next year, he became like his father a local preacher, but rejected the idea of following a full-time profession as a Wesleyan minister. As an educated and prosperous man, Thomas assumed positions of responsibility in the church. He was treasurer of the Kirkgate chapel-trust from 1837 (when he also became a trustee) until his death, and Circuit steward. In 1824 he was made steward and trustee of the new Eastbrook chapel. He was made a trustee of the Dudley Hill chapel in 1839 and in the same year, of the chapel at Bradford Moor. In 1837 he was a trustee of the new chapel erected in White Abbey, Manningham. In 1853 when the Methodist Conference was held for the first time in Bradford, Thomas Holmes and William Cheeseborough 'had the honour to acknowledge the votes passed to the Bradford Wesleyans for their hospitable reception of delegates to the Conference.'²⁹

John Holmes senior played the same active part in the Methodist church as his father. His place of worship at first was, like his father's, the Kirkgate chapel, so handy for the shop. When he moved to the northern suburbs, he was associated with Manningham chapel in Carlisle Road, which (his Obituary says), 'he was largely instrumental in building'. In this he worked closely in conjunction with his ex-father-in-law, James Ambler, who presented the site of the chapel to the Society. John held all the offices of his father: Sunday-school teacher and superintendent, trustee of several chapels in Bradford and the neighbourhood, Class leader, Circuit steward and lay representative on the Wesleyan Conference. 'He was in hearty sympathy both with the polity and principles of Methodism, and although he was tolerant of the modified views — both as to methods and benefits — of younger men, he gave no countenance to them.' The Obituary continues: 'he held tenaciously to the tenets of Methodism as defined by John Wesley'. Through Cudworth's careful interest in detail, we catch a glimpse of John Holmes giving a talk on the history of Methodism in Bradford at a tea-meeting on Saturday 15 September 1888 held to celebrate the jubilee of the foundation of the White Abbey chapel.³⁰

It is difficult to form any estimate of character with the slight materials that are available

²⁹. Cudworth, *Methodism in Bradford* (Bradford, 1878), 13, 18, 24, 25, 32; W. W. Stamp, *Historical Notes of Wesleyan Methodism in Bradford* (London, 1841), 84, 90, 101, 102, 103, 110, 111; J. Norton Dickons, *Kirkgate Chapel, Bradford* (Bradford, 1903), 63, 65, 116, 121.

³⁰. Cudworth, *History of Manningham*, 42.



Fig. 2. John Holmes *c.* 1846, from Snowden collection, Bowling Hall Museum, Bradford.



Fig. 3. John Holmes *c.* 1885. Bowling Hall Museum, Bradford.

for the study of ordinary people even as recently as the Victorian era. It would be unwise to judge too harshly from the evidence of their wills, that Thomas was a just father, while John was unforgiving to his son, Frank. The portrait and caricature that remain of John — one taken in middle, the other in old age (Figs. 2, 3) — suggest however a certain truculence, but there is no picture of Thomas to compare with them.³¹ Obituaries are not a good guide to character. West Riding virtues will be praised, and Methodist piety. One thing the obituaries of Thomas and his two sons, Samuel and John, agree on is that all three men were of a retiring and private sort. One letter written by Thomas to his son, Samuel, who was staying at Harrogate convalescing (he never recovered) in 1850 has been preserved and shows the strength of interest in Methodism which clearly bound the family together. The religious tone of the letter seems closer to the sixteenth century than the twentieth. 'In order to obtain a complete victory we must live more in the spirit of prayers and hold more frequent intercourse with God in our closets: the secret of our strength lies in communion with Him. I think you should leave your health in the hands of the Almighty ... where the Lord loveth, He chastiseth ... endeavour to leave all your concerns in the hands of the Heavenly Father ... and as you believe that I would gladly do whatever I can to promote your good, how much more may you have confidence in him who is the fountain of grace and mercy to fill and transform our souls into his divine image.' Interspersed with this high-flown advice are items of news: how Hannah, the maid, has got the kitchen 'coloured'; about a visit from Mary Ann, his daughter, with her son, Fred; about Mr Pearce, who was presumably locum for Samuel during his illness, having some cases 'coming forward'. But then the letter returns to Methodism. A love-feast at Bowling where Thomas had preached is mentioned and news is given of some long-forgotten squabble within the Society: 'The reformers have issued another placard calling upon the mob to be at East Brook Chapel this evening where Bottomley and Lord are to be examined at the Leaders Meeting — it is coming to a crisis.' The letter seems to suggest that in Thomas's mind business came a poor second to family and religion. He wrote to his dying son: 'the great secret of religious enjoyment is simple and childlike trust in God ... the worldliness you complain of is I am persuaded a great drawback to our enjoyment.' Such a comment seems to modern ears a strange one to come from an entrepreneur who on a local scale seemed to enjoy quite a good deal of worldly success.³²

³¹ Caricature by John Sowden, in the collection of the Bradford Museum Service; portrait which had hung in the shop, donated by Mr Busby when he sold up to Debenham's, in the same collection. My thanks are due to Mr P. W. G. Lawson and Mrs Anthea Bickley of the Museum Service for locating these pictures.

³² Thomas to Samuel Holmes, Bradford, 22/4/1850; a copy kindly given me by Mr Graham Wontner-Smith, to whom I am also indebted for information on the Isitts.

BOOK REVIEWS

ARCHBISHOP DRUMMOND'S VISITATION RETURNS, 1764. I: YORKSHIRE A-G. By CRESSIDA ANNESLEY and PHILIPPA HOSKIN 25 × 16.5 cm. Pp. xii and 216. Borthwick Texts and Calendars 21: University of York 1997. Price: £11.50 (plus £1.05 p. & p. from The Borthwick Institute, York YO1 2PW.)

A visitation was the principal method whereby bishops and archdeacons discovered the spiritual health and pastoral efficiency of their parish system in a particular year. The 1764 Primary Visitation is entirely typical of this investigation. Archbishop Drummond could easily assess the dedicated service of the clergy at the 220 churches and chapels recorded in this volume, from the conscientious vicar of Felixkirk to the cantankerous bigoted Edward Rishton at Almondbury. The presence of the nonconformist families is noted, particularly the newcomers 'Germans or Moravians' at Baildon and 'few dissenters enthusiastic or Methodists' at Ecclesfield. Rarely do the returns give exact details of housing, only for the vicar at Gargrave or the curate at Farlington. The replies are fuller about the schools, almshouses or charities, and the clergy income. The frequency of formal services and the books used for catechism nearly always provide precise information. The practice of public penance was on the decline and usually it was unmarried pregnant women who were punished. Sometimes, as at Bishop Wilton and Barton, the incumbent gives information about the sites of medieval chapels. At Bessingby the church was in ruins.

The unpublished doctoral thesis of the late Judith Jago seems to absolve the editors from providing a thorough contextual introduction. Instead they give a brief biography of the archbishop and an explanation of editorial method. One thoughtful feature is that the list of visitation questions is printed on a reference card in a pocket at the back of the volume, so that it can be used simultaneously when consulting any parish entry. Editorial footnotes are efficient on clergy details and catechism reading, but are less helpful about the surviving buildings of schools and hospitals. Their doubts about Bolton Hospital (at Beamsley) could have been resolved by a visit there; the chapel excavated by Coppack at Bolton (near Fangfoss) was published in 1978.

As the first volume out of three for Yorkshire it sets a good standard for an edition which, like the Visitation of Archbishop Herring in 1743, will be a useful work of reference for diocesan and local history.

Leeds

Lawrence Butler

'A PLACE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE', SCARBOROUGH IN THE CIVIL WARS, 1640-1660. By JACK BINNS. Pp. xi and 305, Illus. and Maps, Carnegie Publishing, 1996. Price: £18.95.

The outbreak of the Civil Wars transformed Scarborough from an old, incorporated borough-port, modest in size and importance, into a strategic centre between a landward and a maritime frontier, its castle and harbour coveted by both Royalists and Parliamentarians. Thus began the most turbulent era in its history during which it changed hands seven times, its governors twice deserted Parliament for the King and, as a consequence, condemned the townspeople to two long sieges, in 1645 and 1648.

In this thorough, well-researched and absorbing study, Dr Binns has brought to life the dramatic events of the conflict and the dominating personalities of Scarborough's governors, Sir Hugh Cholmley and Col. Matthew Boynton, and assessed the effects of a decade of warring on the townspeople. One of the merits of his approach is that he takes the longer historical perspective, devoting almost half the book to this, so that he places the impact of the wars in the context of the borough's development from the later middle ages until beyond the Restoration. This enables

him, for instance, to emphasise the continuity and, indeed, resilience of civil administration no matter what the dislocation suffered and give due weight to Scarborough's role during the Interregnum.

With the help of clear maps Binns carefully delineates the changing military fortunes of the protagonists, the events elsewhere determining Scarborough's experiences during the wars. When hostilities began, Cholmley immediately took charge, fortifying and garrisoning the castle for the Parliament and proving himself an adventurous commander in sorties far afield. Binns is revealing as to why he defected to the King early in 1643 and why the townspeople rather passively followed his lead; likewise, Boynton's in the second Civil War. Trimmers and turncoats they may have appeared, yet they showed a canny understanding of which side would serve their interests best. Where their governors forfeited the Scarborough's support was by failing to surrender to the Parliament, which subjected the borough to unnecessary destruction and privation.

Binns devotes a chapter to the five-month long siege in 1645, critically appraising Cholmley's 'Memoirs' and other contemporary sources to produce a definitive narrative. He describes well the fascinating episode in 1644–45 when Scarborough sustained itself by becoming a privateering base, its sea-captains such as the outstanding Browne Bushell plundering the coastal trade and almost cutting off the capital's supplies of Newcastle coal. At the surrender in February 1645 one report said there were more than 120 ships in the harbour, most of them prizes. After the Royalists' defeat, the privateers naturally turned to piracy. The one notable Scarborough of the Civil Wars was a parliamentarian, Vice-Admiral John Lawson.

This is an attractive and well-produced book with comprehensive and informative notes, bibliography and index, which greatly add to its scholarly appeal. It is a worthy and very welcome addition to the growing number of studies devoted to the experiences of urban centres during the great upheaval of the Civil Wars.

Leeds

R.T. Spence

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN LEEDS 1700–1799. By TERRY FRIEDMAN. 21 × 14 cm. Pp. xxvi and 195. Illus. 61 b/w. Publications of the Thoresby Society, second series, Vol. 7. Leeds 1997 for 1996. Price to non-members: £15 plus £1.10 p. & p. ISBN 0 900741 49 X.

The student of eighteenth-century religious architecture now has only two places in Leeds to visit: Holy Trinity, Boar Lane, of the Anglican church, and Salem, Hunslet Lane, in the nonconformist tradition. Some fittings survive from Leeds Parish Church (St Peter's). Yet the situation was very different a hundred years ago before structures were destroyed or 'restored'. All this lost evidence must be reconstructed from written and pictorial sources. It is to the great credit of Dr Friedman that he has accomplished such a thorough investigation and been able to present so much material, most of it the product of assiduous combing through newspapers, diaries and vestry records. The various designs for Holy Trinity, the architectural context for John Watson junior's Horsforth chapel and the building practices of John Carr are all explored. Carr's contributions at the two older Leeds churches (St Peter's, St John's), and Whitkirk and his design at Farnley are fully investigated for the first time.

The strength of this book lies in the full analysis of work at 17 churches and chapels, particularly putting in their context the destroyed Anglican buildings (Farnley, Horsforth, Hunslet, Chapel Allerton and St Paul's) and discussing the new Nonconformist buildings (Mill Hill, Zion and Lady Lane R. C.). A few other structures get briefer mention. Much of the interest lies in two interlocking strands: firstly the organisation and the financing of the building craftsmen (often printed in Appendices), and secondly the social milieu of the commissioning bodies: the mercantile dominance in the city churches is in contrast to the gentry patronage at the outlying suburban villages. Particular attention is paid to Ralph Thoresby's role in visiting new London churches which might then become the model for Holy Trinity. Extensive use of contemporary opinions reconstructs the debates of the period.

Sometimes the wealth of detail threatens to overwhelm the reader: the footnotes are copious though always relevant and can contain nuggets of related material. On a few occasions Dr Friedman has overlooked information: the original exterior of Salem still stands, while parts of the

earlier Bramley chapel are re-erected in the churchyard. Carr's work at Harewood was detailed in this journal (58 (1986)). Printing errors are virtually absent but the index is sometimes confusing. The summary on the back cover promises more than the volume delivers: this is certainly not an 'in-depth account of the building and furnishing' of 33 churches and chapels, since only half that number are considered in detail. Yet there is a very thorough approach to those buildings discussed here and we can be confident that no potential source of documentary information has been omitted. Dr Friedman provides a tantalising hint that the Moravian settlement at Fulneck needs a detailed architectural and documentary survey. This indeed whets the appetite!

Leeds

Lawrence Butler

THE CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF ST MICHAEL, SPURRIERGATE, YORK 1518–1548, Volume I 1518–1537, Volume II 1538–1548. By G. C. WEBB, ed. Pp. 379. Borthwick Texts and Calendars 20, University of York, 1997. Price £17.50 (pb) (plus £2.30 postage).

In their recent work Clive Burgess, Ronald Hutton, Eamon Duffy, Beat Kümin among others have demonstrated the value of churchwardens' accounts for reconstructing the operation of the church at the parish level and parish life in general in the later medieval and early modern periods, noting in passing the rarity of such accounts, especially for the north of England. The publication of the churchwardens' accounts for St Michael, Spurriergate, the only set for York and virtually for the whole of Yorkshire which covers the early Reformation period, is therefore particularly welcome. By 1500 this riverside parish had accumulated a considerable amount of property throughout the city which produced as much as £16 a year. To maximise this revenue required a considerable amount of oversight, the church wardens having responsibility both for the letting and upkeep of parish houses as well as for the provision of services and the maintenance of the fabric of the church itself. St Michael's elected four wardens annually to serve for two consecutive years but in 1518 decided estate management needed more expertise than these rotating, part-time officers could provide and so appointed their stipendiary priest, Thomas Wyrral, the son of a parish fishmonger, to keep the accounts at an annual salary of £5. Wyrral performed this task for over thirty years until his death in 1550, becoming in 1538 sole manager of the parish estate. His record of payments which included such items as mending the glass and the bells or the purchase of new organs and vestments, and then in his last years the removal of statues and the whitewashing of the wall paintings chronicles both the vitality of late medieval Catholicism and the enforcement of the Protestant reformation. Less predictably his very detailed itemisation of expenditure on repairs to both ecclesiastical and secular buildings contains much of interest for architectural historians, while the parish's less than totally efficient system of rent collection throws new light on the housing of the urban poor.

Wyrral wrote his accounts in phonetic spelling which differs considerably from the more regular and latinate English of contemporary York ecclesiastical lawyers and the edition with its very detailed glossary and index will consequently also be significant for Yorkshire dialect scholars. Mr Webb is to be congratulated for his industry which will ensure that at last the printed version of the accounts for St Michael, Spurriergate, York can take its place alongside the classic editions of late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century churchwardens' accounts for Louth, St Ewen's, Bristol or the London church of St Mary at Hill.

York

Claire Cross

EXCAVATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEFENCES AND ADJACENT SITES 1971–90. By PATRICK OTTAWAY. Pp. 205, Figs 145 + 8 figs in folder. The Archaeology of York, Vol. 3: The Legionary Fortress, Fasc. 3. Council for British Archaeology 1996. Price: £35 (inc. p. & p.). ISBN 1 872414 65 6.

This comprehensive fascicule includes reports on two important excavations before the foundation of the York Archaeological Trust, as well as numerous sites within the fortress (many quite small and some only watching briefs) conducted by former as well as existing members of the staff of

YAT, here skilfully overviewed by Patrick Ottaway. The pagination continues the sequence from Fascicules 1 and 2 of Vol. 3, already published in 1976 and 1977. The index for all three fascicules and lists of contents, figures and plates for Fascicules 1 and 2 are provided after the bibliography.

The arrangement of the text (covering 20 sites, see Fig. 35) is clear and logical and moves in a clockwise (and almost chronological) direction from the E corner, towards the S angle and thence to the SW quadrant of the fortress in the Museum Gardens. The new, large-format fortress plan (Fig. 186) shows just how much the several archaeological bodies in York have achieved since the RCHME publication in 1962. The line drawings are excellent, the main area site-plans (Figs. 118, 123, 139, 184–85) particularly useful to the reader. Some spectacular photographs are included, notably Figs 42, 69, 145, 166, whilst the rest give comprehensive cover not only of the defences but of timber slots and masonry walls revealed in several smaller excavations. Within each main area the account of the excavations (some of which make difficult reading) is followed by interpretations and discussion, usually by Patrick Ottaway, including the finds evidence. This is where the fascicule system fails the specialist reader who cannot inspect there and then a drawing of a crucial potsherd, and to hunt for it in the now-published *AY* 16/8 (*Roman Pottery from York* by Jason Monaghan) is like looking for the proverbial needle in a haystack.

In two main respects Ottaway jettisons the RCHME interpretation of the defences. This was done before, by Stead in 1968, but it is useful to have the evidence published again, together with more recent information. Firstly, he argues for a single phase of turf-and-clay rampart forming the late first-century defences and assigns these to Cerialis rather than Agricola. Whether Cerialian troops on campaign against the Brigantes constructed a permanent-like fortress with a 2–3 m high rampart, is questionable. Those of us who excavated with Wenham on Aldwark 1971–72 Trench 1 find it difficult to accept that the lowest 0.4 m of rampart on a flimsy bough strapping does not represent an early, less substantial rampart.

Secondly, the reviewer cannot accept Ottaway's major thesis that 'there is no convincing evidence ... for the replacement of one stone curtain wall and towers by another at any site on the defences'. Even he admits that Miller's earlier wall at Hawarden Place, later replaced, is 'a first episode of early 2nd-century date'. On the NE defences Wenham believed that the fortress wall foundations and lowest two courses in his Trench 1 (in the next phase covered by a fillet of mortar, as were two similar courses in Trench 3) were contemporary with stone tower NE6. Indeed, the filling of the cut through the late first-century rampart to provide working space for this structural work actually lips over a mortar patch which, in turn, lips over the fortress wall foundations (Fig. 39). Thus, the latter were already constructed before the secondary cut to erect the present wall. If such foundations exist here in the early second century (dated by pottery from the tower construction cuts) then why not around the whole fortress circuit, even if their superstructure did not survive the later reconstruction on the NW and SW fronts? The reviewer does agree with Ottaway that the date of the existing curtain in the Aldwark sector, and indeed along much of the SE front, is post *c.* AD 160, that is late Antonine rather than the Severan date favoured by RCHME in 1962.

It is for the NW/SW defences that Ottaway suggests a most revolutionary date. The lack of any sign of an earlier wall, the existence of only a single construction cut to insert the NW wall with its contemporary earlier style internal towers, the likely contemporaneity of the projection bastions, not only with the SW curtain wall but with its foundations, the lack of artefactual evidence of a later date, are all arguments he deploys to suggest a 'probable 3rd-century' date for all this structural activity which completed the 100-year conversion of the defences into stone.

It is unacceptable that the NW interval towers belong to the same structural phase as the projecting bastions on the SW front. Towers NW1, 3 and 5 are so similar in size and construction to NE6, which is demonstrably early second-century, that they must surely be of similar date. In the still visible area of NW1 the whole impression is that the fortress wall cuts across a pre-existing structure, with an attempt then made to bond the tower walls into the curtain core. This was only partly successful here, for the stub side walls of the tower exhibit almost vertical breaks from the curtain core, not because of subsidence (the coursing is still horizontal, apart from a single stone) but because of poor bonding. It may also be significant that NW3 (seen by Wellbeloved), standing some 5ft above the fortress wall, had two separated tile-courses to the front, but none to the rear beyond the side doorways. The pre-existence of stone towers in this stretch makes a concomitant

wall, later replaced from its foundations, virtually mandatory. For the existing wall on the NW, with tile-courses, and on the SW front with tile-band and projecting polygonal towers also, the stylistic parallels, not only from Britain but from elsewhere in the Roman Empire, belong to the late third century or later. The York river front must then be regarded as a late third/early fourth-century defence, and most probably as a reconstruction of an earlier wall.

Nevertheless, Ottaway's presentation of a formidable body of data, his painstaking work on metrology, on rampart and intervallum widths, his grasp of intricate detail, his ability to see the wood for the trees, and his fairness in presenting conflicting interpretations, are to be warmly praised.

Brenda Heywood

EXCAVATIONS IN THE PRAETENTURA: 9 BLAKE STREET. By R. A. HALL. Pp. 96, Illus. 86 (2 in colour). The Archaeology of York, Vol. 3: The Legionary Fortress, Fasc. 4. York Archaeological Trust/Council for British Archaeology 1997. Price: £20 (pbk).

This is an account of excavations carried out over 20 years ago in the *praetentura* of the Roman legionary fortress at York. It deals with the structural remains on the site, together with the wall plaster and iron nails; most of the other finds have been published in earlier fascicules of *The Archaeology of York* series. Two phases of timber buildings were succeeded in *c.* AD 160 by a stone building, at least parts of which remained standing until the end of the fourth century. The plans of the timber buildings are not intelligible, although the presence of mortar floors and painted plaster suggests that they provided some form of accommodation. The stone building consisted of a narrow range of rooms bordering a street and divided from a wider range of rooms by a passage. The *opus signinum* floor, painted plaster and finds from the larger range of rooms are said to reflect 'the relatively high status of the occupants', while the narrower range produced pottery and animal bones consistent with food preparation. Occupation continued until the end of the Roman period, but in or after the late third century the functions of the buildings might have changed. There were few signs of Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian activity, and the site remained open throughout the medieval period.

This is necessarily a bald statement of the results, for a rare opportunity to excavate a sizeable area in the fortress chanced upon a fragment of a building plan with no obvious parallels. Tentative efforts are made to equate the plan with that of accommodation supposedly provided for special groups in the fortresses at Neuss, Vindonissa and Bonn. Certainty about this identification is impossible, and it can only be hoped that one day more of the building will be seen (fortunately, the plan to include basements in the development that followed the excavations was abandoned).

York is the least well-known of the three permanent legionary fortresses in Britain. The Blake Street excavations illustrate the difficulties that have to be overcome in learning more about the plan and history of the fortress. The recently-published excavations under the Minster are the only large-scale work that has taken place in the interior of the fortress; most of our knowledge relies on small excavations and observations during building work. Conservation policies will probably ensure that future excavations are on a small scale. It is much to the credit of this report, and to the philosophy of the York Archaeological Trust, that the best ways of using the limited information about the fortress are now made plain. Ottaway's work on the metrology of the fortress provides a hypothetical plan into which the Blake Street building can be fitted. Future observations, even of single walls, can be used to test and if necessary modify Ottaway's conclusions. The careful analysis of finds, particularly pottery and botanical and animal remains, will build up a series of profiles illustrating the character and chronology of occupation at various points in the fortress. This is a far cry from what might be expected from the large-scale excavations that are still possible at Caerleon and Chester, but York has its own story to tell. For example, the Blake Street excavations further illustrate the extent of later occupation, much more in evidence at York than at Caerleon or Chester.

This exemplary publication provides a model for the reporting of a minor urban excavation,

showing how unspectacular results can be made to contribute to the larger picture of one of the most important Roman sites in Britain.

Arbeia Roman Museum, South Shields

Paul Bidwell

VIKING AGE YORK. By RICHARD HALL. 18.5 × 24.5 cm. Pp. 128. Pls. 235 (20 in colour). B. T. Batsford Ltd/English Heritage, London, 1994. Price: £14.99 (pb).

During the Viking Age, York was the second city of England; between 866 and 1066 its population probably grew from c. 1–2,000 to c. 10–15,000. York is probably Britain's best known ancient town, but is it also its best understood?

This recent addition to the Batsford/English Heritage series tries to piece together a complete picture of life in Viking York. Inevitably the Coppergate excavations loom large and to some extent this is an update of the author's 1984 *The Viking Dig*, taking account of the finds and environmental reports. In the continued absence of the long-awaited 18–22 Coppergate structural report it is also the best available synthesis of these internationally important excavations. However, it is the gathering together of fragments of evidence from both the older and the smaller excavations that makes this book especially valuable as an overview of Viking Age York, for both student and general reader. In particular, hitherto unpublished information from York Archaeological Trust's sites at 58–59 Skeldergate, Walmgate, Fetter Lane, etc. is especially welcome, although these sites also highlight the difficulties of reconstructing building plans from the smaller excavations that now seem to be the rule within our cities.

Richard Hall's opening chapter, on the history of the discovery of Jorvik, including the early excavations of Kathleen Richardson and Dudley Waterman, also provides a valuable compilation of source material. The complex documented sequence of Jorvik's Anglo-Scandinavian rulers is then wisely covered only briefly before Hall provides an account based on a synthesis of modern archaeological evidence and covering the questions of the developing topography of York, the people, their buildings, trade and industry, arts and crafts, and finally, everyday life.

Some of this revises or confirms interim conclusions. The cellared buildings, for example, are now seen as having a second storey, and the Coppergate tenements are now definitely seen as being controlled by a single landlord. There is much of the down-to-earth detail beloved of evening class audiences. Jorvik's streets were probably metalled; the occupants kept terrier- and collie-sized dogs but barely tolerated cats, sometimes skinning them for gloves. More fundamental questions are also introduced but not developed. The fusion of identities represented by Viking motifs on Anglo-Saxon disc brooches, for example, or the explosion in craft industry resulting from the disintegration of the traditional ties in Anglo-Saxon society are mentioned but their implications are not explored. Nevertheless, these questions are at least being posed and this is still a valuable synthesis of knowledge of Viking Age York, much to be recommended.

University of York

J.D. Richards

THE GOVERNMENT OF MEDIEVAL YORK. ESSAYS IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 1396 ROYAL CHARTER. Edited by SARAH REES-JONES. Pp. viii and 164, Pls. 17. Borthwick Studies in History 3, York 1997. Price: £10 plus 80p postage from Borthwick Institute, St Anthony's Hall, York YO1 2PW.

The seven lectures delivered in the Guildhall to commemorate the 600th anniversary of Richard II's charter giving the City of York county status fascinated a large audience and deserve this more permanent form. They deal with York's civic administration from 1200 to 1464, the city's dealings with the Crown under Edward I–III, whether Richard II had a special relationship with the city and the Minster, and the importance of the Corpus Christi play to the craft guilds who provided its 54 episodes or pageants.

Although John Harvey first suggested that Richard II visited York frequently and perhaps contemplated replacing London as his capital with the northern metropolis, both Nigel Saul and

Christopher Norton show that this idea is mistaken. He stayed at Nottingham and Canterbury more frequently, royal letters were issued from York because its archbishop was Chancellor and held the Great Seal, while the king's gifts to the Minster were not outstanding. He only gave £66 13s. 4d. and a minor relic, compared with £9000 spent on Westminster Hall, £1000 given to Canterbury Cathedral and £933 6s. 8d. expended on his tomb. His white hart badge carved in the Minster probably refers to his gift of 1395 and visit at Easter 1396. Other carved figures and shields are also discussed.

Every essay illuminates the city's history. 'The charter symbolises what now appears to be the high water mark of civic self assuredness' (Dobson), but 'was in some respects the culmination of York's increasingly strident determination to keep up with its competitors' (Ormerod). 'The total cost of the charter to the city ... was in excess of £450', the equivalent in modern money 'of one million pounds' (Rees-Jones). 'If the mayor and bailiffs controlled places ten miles away, there were other spots within a quarter of a mile of their Guildhall over which their writ did not run', the ecclesiastical liberties and those areas run by royal officers (Palliser). 'The citizens were grateful to Richard for the charter that he granted them, but it is doubtful if they mourned him to the extent they were to do his later and scarcely less enigmatic namesake' (Saul). Those who want to discover whether female roles in the mystery plays were actually played by women, what part the '12', '24' and '48' played in civic government, and how royal grants were the product of lengthy horse trading will find answers here and much besides to help them appreciate York's medieval history.

York

R.M. Butler

A RESPECTABLE LIFE. LEEDS IN THE 1930's. By E. M. SIGSWORTH. Pp. xii and 88. Highgate Press, Beverley, 1995. Price: £7.50.

This is a delightful intelligent, sentient and insightful evocation of boyhood Leeds. Neither an autobiography nor an academic study it is '...rather an exploration of the effect that a certain district of south Leeds had on Eric during most of his school years' (Preface p. x). As such it will appeal to an academic audience but also to a much broader readership of those interested in their own lives and in the history and culture of hard pressed but respectable northern working class communities.

Beeston in the 'thirties was' ...a smug, narrow-minded society' (p. 2). It returned a Tory MP and city councillor and prospered quietly whilst the areas around it, the work-house down the hill and the paupers' graves, were a constant reminder of the fate of those less fortunate. Eric describes the lives and personalities of several of his dozen or so aunts and uncles, the sorts of people so rarely recalled or recorded in detail: '...unspectacular lives which can only be described as blameless' (p. 82). He emphasises the gulf in experiences between the generation of large families in overcrowded slum housing and his own community which was marked by restricted family size, by greater material comforts, by respectability, order and social ambition. There is disappointingly little on the nature of personal, emotional and family life within the nuclear household. But a child's life in the streets, games and early sexual experiences are described whilst Eric's education, like that of most of his peers, was dominated by the sadism of a frustrated generation of priggish schoolmasters.

Above all, this is an evocation of the sounds, the smells and the feelings of everyday lives. Eric is able to take us on clanking tram rides: into the smogs of the centre of Leeds and out into the countryside. We wait with a huge line of trams outside Elland Road in the gloom of a late winter afternoon. We hear the roars and agonies of the crowd behind the high walls and we travel homeward in the dense fumes of a hundred cheap cigarettes. We look with the eyes and ears of a ten year old boy at the mean houses and shops with their mysterious array of commanding enamel signs: 'Stop that itching', 'Die Stamping' (p. 14)! We see the litter, the beggars, pavement entertainers and horse drawn chaos which is the life of the streets. Each road and lane, each tram stop is recalled with stunning immediacy. We experience the grand shopping arcades, the theatres,

picture houses and flea-pits, the open gravel spaces with their seasonal feasts and fairs, the parks with their officious, uniformed keepers.

We are also introduced to domestic life: to the significance of petty embellishments such as leaded windows and porches and to the rich texture and symbolism of domestic interiors: 'Above the fireplace was a sort of domestic shrine, the mantelpiece, with a dark-coloured plush valance and prized items on it, such as framed photographs and ornaments' (p. 17). We experience the routines of domestic life: the smells and drudgeries of wash day, 'sleckin't'dust' with tea leaves, and the laborious and self-defeating scrubbing and cleaning which was the self-imposed lot of the virtuous and respectable Beeston matron. 'They created homes in which it was impossible to relax, lest an antimacassar should be creased or a fugitive crumb fall on the carpet' (p. 16). Fearful that they would make the place untidy or dirty, husbands could be banished to the garden for hours where they smoked and farted in peace. New pieces of furniture were kept covered in sheets for years and 'The greatest praise which could gladden the ear of such a housewife was not that her house was warm and comfortable, friendly and welcoming, but that she kept it 'like a little palace' ...and that 'you could eat your dinner off the floor' (p. 16).

Nearly thirty years ago, as a young graduate, I was uncertain about my future. Eric took me on a tour of the industrial West Riding on a cloudy November day. Whilst driving erratically, sometimes at terrifying speed, he effortlessly relayed rich details about the history and culture of the textile towns and villages as they passed by. And then we walked in the churchyard at Luddenden with Murgatroyd's Mill on the skyline above us. From that moment, I was gripped with a commitment to Britain's industrial and social past which has rarely left me since. Eric shaped the course of my life in an important way and I am sure he had this infectious impact on many of his students. Last week I read this book on a train journey. I laughed and cried. At a time of crisis and stress in the higher education system, it is important to be reminded why I am a historian.

University of Liverpool

Pat Hudson

LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN THE VICTORIAN CENSUS ENUMERATORS' BOOKS.
 Edited by DENNIS MILLS and KEVIN SCHURER Pp. 450, several pictures and numerous tables.
 Leopard's Head Press, Oxford 1996. Price £12.50 (pbk).

The Victorian census enumerators' notebooks, easily available locally on microfilm, are familiar to everyone seriously interested in local or social history. People inspired by the information they supply will find this book invaluable. It consists of a couple of dozen articles using census material which were originally published in *Local Population Studies*. They are arranged in groups according to the aspect of the material addressed, and each group is preceded by a chapter specially written by the editors to elucidate relevant problems.

The editorial chapters serve several purposes. They give very necessary explanations of such things as the background of the enumerators and the detailed instructions given to them, for instance on how to define a 'household'. They point to problems of interpretation, such as the possible ambiguity to early Victorians of the word 'servant' (which can indicate both relationship to the head of the household, and a function within the household). They discuss the more complicated aspects of census use, for instance the different ways of classifying occupations. And they allow the reader to be introduced to seminal works on the use of the material. To have all this information in one paperback book is very useful.

The articles were published over a time-span of 25 years (and it would sometimes have been interesting to have been given the date of original publication). They are very varied in all respects, for instance in terms of geography, size of area covered, subject and difficulty. All illustrate the kind of work which can be done with census material. Readers will readily find subjects with which to identify. Almost all the articles present approaches which could usefully be used by other researchers, whose additional material would widen the application of the conclusions drawn by the authors. Most of the articles have numerous clear tables to illustrate their argument. It would

be counter-productive to complain about the quality of the photographic plates, given the price of the book, which makes it a very affordable tool for YAS members and others.

Leeds

Ann Alexander

MOORLAND MONUMENTS: STUDIES IN HONOUR OF RAYMOND HAYES AND DON SPRATT. By BLAISE VYNER ed. Pp. 255. CBA Research Report 101. London, 1995.

Moorland Monuments is a collection of papers by 'saluting' fellow workers to those two beacons of north eastern Yorkshire archaeology: Raymond Hayes and Don Spratt.

The papers, drawn together and edited in a forward looking manner by Blaise Vyner, range from a number of outstanding reviews to shorter site and artefact analyses. The writers acknowledge the friendship and co-operation engendered by Raymond Hayes and Don Spratt, whose horizons were not limited to their understanding of the Yorkshire Wolds nor to any favoured pre- or historic period.

The four part volume has Reviews: Heritage: Sites: and Artefact based papers with brief bibliographies of the two friends and it is the seven reviews that give most substance to the text. These are in chronological sequence with Professor Simmons' paper 'The history of the early environment' setting the scene. This paper introduces the history of environmental change, reviews the published work and proposes future research. The equilibrium of the forest tree cover over the higher North Yorkshire moors was upset by man a thousand years before the neolithic elm decline, while extensive clearances had become quite apparent in the Bronze Age, expanding until nineteenth-century industrialisation took what was left of the timber.

Ian Simmons accepted the challenge (as he puts it) to provide a soundly based environmental background for the spatially encyclopaedic knowledge of Raymond Hayes and for Don Spratt's archaeological investigations; it must have been fun working with them.

Editor Blaise Vyner's 'Brides of place' review of cross-ridge boundaries shows a contemporaneity between the boundaries and the ridge end Bronze age burial mounds. Could some of the enclosed areas have had a previous function, perhaps arable land between a few clearance cairns?

Archaeo-petrological research has had many successes but the beehive quern has proved a disappointing study for many. David Heslop is the determined exception and here he joins with Adam Gwilt to consider the Teesdale evidence. Slowly, a chronology of quern shapes is evolving but the widespread distribution of the bedrock sandstones had negated their search for quern factories.

The long-needed update of post Staple Howe ceramics in Yorkshire is found in Jeremy Evans's 'Later iron-age pottery in the north east'. Evans continues the work Challis and Harding undertook almost 20 years ago; fabrics, forms and distributions are mapped and regional groupings made. The author underlines the need to publish more fully the pottery from the Garton Slack excavations, then a complete picture would be seen for eastern Yorkshire. Whether Brigantia west of the Magnesian limestone corridor has much to add seems unlikely, considering the dearth of excavated sites in the Pennines. Dr Evans, however, has no need to apologise for being a Romanist, having focused attention on the subject with such clarity.

The subsequent paper by Peter Wilson, on Roman period developments and the future archaeological potential for the area, must be correct in saying that some of the sub-rectangular enclosures are new Roman period creations. The economy was stimulated and taxation meant increased production, which in turn had an impact on the environment. Peter Wilson hopes the recording skills of Raymond Hayes and Don Spratt will be continued, and continuously available to co-workers. That concern seems to have been answered by the editor in the final two sections of the volume, Sites and Artefacts. Ten writers analyse various sites and surveys, ranging from a bronze-age stone setting and ring cairn excavation to Saltwick Alum Works and Comondale (Water) Mill. The latter project was undertaken by enthusiasts from South Park Sixth Form College in Cleveland. The artefact-based papers consider Lithic material (finds) from the Howardian Hills, the Boon Hill bronze hoard, three Celtic heads from Cleveland and the evidence for the manufacture of Ryedale ware in the village of Coxwold.

Throughout the volume, these contributions are tempered by a respect for, or stimulus given, by Raymond or Don. The various tributes will provide an increasing amount of information for anyone with an interest in the varied archaeology of the moorlands of north east Yorkshire.

Settle

Alan King

SYLLOGE OF COINS OF THE BRITISH ISLES 48. NORTHERN MUSEUMS: ANCIENT BRITISH, ANGLO-SAXON, NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET COINS TO 1279. By JAMES BOOTH. Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press and Spink & Son Limited, 1997, xiv + 283 pp. inc. 64 photo plates. Price £80.

It is now over 20 years since the excellent volume 21 of the *SCBI* series turned its spotlight on the early coins held in collections in Yorkshire. That volume concentrated on the coins in the collections of the Yorkshire Museum, Leeds City Museum and the University of Leeds. James Booth has produced a complementary work which casts its net far wider and incorporates material housed in no fewer than 32 collections on both sides of the Pennines.

A total of 1942 pieces are described, the majority being illustrated on 64 excellent plates. Many of the coins illustrated are held in major and well-known public museums, such as those at Manchester, Blackburn, Doncaster and Hull. Where less familiar collections were found to contain even small quantities of relevant material however, the author has ensured that they are also represented, with for example a scarce Offa/Eadberht penny from the Dales Countryside Museum being included.

The layout of the volume will be familiar to all users of the *SCBI* series, the bulk of the work being taken up with the catalogue and associated plates. In addition a useful index of hoards and single finds is provided, together with an index of collectors, dealers, donors and detectorists. Brief summaries are likewise provided of the collections represented, as is a substantial bibliography. A useful contribution has also been made by Martin Allen, in the form of a brief essay on the arrangement of Short Cross class III.

In compiling the volume, the author has brought together a wide range of provenanced material from across northern England. As one might expect, Northumbrian issues are well represented, with well over 500 specimens being illustrated and catalogued with reference where appropriate to *Coinage of the Kingdom of Northumbria*. The volume is also strong in its coverage of later Norman pennies, including some 200 pieces from the reign of Stephen.

James Booth has produced a work which fully lives up to the standards set by previous volumes in the series and which will doubtless prove to be of great value not only to those studying the coinage of northern England, but also to all scholars working in the field of early English numismatics. The only serious criticism which may be made is that, at £80, the volume is far from cheap.

The Yorkshire Museum

Craig Barclay

YORKSHIRE COTTON: THE YORKSHIRE COTTON INDUSTRY 1780–1835. By GEORGE INGLE, Carnegie, Preston 1997.

This is an enormously valuable addition to the literature on Britain's textile industry, breaking through the clichéd association of Lancashire with cotton and Yorkshire with wool. Ingle has a keen eye for subtleties, from the relationship between factory and domestic production to the geographical links between such core centres of production as Leeds and semi-rural environments — such as the Worth valley or Wensleydale — where relatively small cotton mills still have a strong impact on the landscape.

Cotton spinning mills were established in Yorkshire as entrepreneurs saw the growing demand for cotton goods and the profits being made by Arkwright and others. His patent was overthrown in 1783, prompting a boom in mill construction. Yorkshire cotton was a geographic extension of the Lancashire industry and new canal links played an important role in its development. By 1800 approximately 240 cotton mills were in operation in Yorkshire. In explaining their location and operation Ingle combines the types of analyses used by economic historians and industrial archae-

ologists. He describes how cotton mills were sited where there was adequate water, labour, building stone and transport. They were not built or worked to a set formula — they might be converted from redundant corn mills, and some were built to supply yarn to a colony of hand-loom weavers.

Ingle successfully unravels the complexities of power systems and machinery. Various machines, from carding engines to power looms, could be adapted to work wool or cotton. There was no rush to steam, engines being installed where there were no riverside sites available or where water-power was inadequate. There is a valuable section on child labour, showing how orphans were put into apprenticeship by tight-fisted parishes, and some children sent to Cromford to be trained how to work carding and spinning machinery. Trade in cotton, yarn and cloth came to focus on Manchester, though some of Yorkshire's spinners sold directly to weavers in Blackburn for example. Yorkshire yarn was likely to be worked by local hand-loom weavers from around 1795 until 1825 when power looms were being widely introduced.

The second part of *Yorkshire Cotton* consists of a gazetteer of mills, derived largely from archival evidence. While Leeds gained a number of large mills using Boulton & Watt engines, Keighley and Haworth and the Yorkshire Dales had numerous smaller mills, though after 1830 many were converted to spin worsted or flax. A good range is illustrated, though there is no detailed analysis of their internal layout and power systems, or of which structures survive. Ingle shows how it was the marginal mills that failed first, with the surviving cotton firms being concentrated in large buildings in the western part of the county. The cotton mills in South Yorkshire and the Dales were converted for flax or other trades.

The Royal Commission's *Yorkshire Textile Mills* of 1992 remains a key starting point for historians and industrial archaeologists. It focusses on the West Riding and woollen mills; Ingle has provided a valuable complement, charting and analysing the rise and rationalisation of a fascinating aspect of the county's textile history.

York

Michael Stratton

JOHN WESLEY AT WHITESTONE CLIFF, NORTH YORKSHIRE 1755. By ROGER G. COOPER. University of York, Borthwick Paper 91, 1997; pp. 26. £3 plus 40p p. & p.

In March 1755 an impressive landslip at Whitestone Cliff near Thirsk was caused by heavy rain, also resulting in flooding of the River Rye. John Wesley, then at Osmotherley on a preaching tour, visited the site and submitted an account of the event to the *Public Advertiser*. This booklet examines the occurrence and relates its publication to Wesley's curiosity and concern for accuracy, revealing him as a man of the Enlightenment. However, he attributed the landslip to God's wish to give a visible and public sign of His power.

VILLAGE VOICES TELLING OF LEVISHAM LIFE A CENTURY AGO. By BETTY HALES. Pp. vi and 118, Illus. 20. Moors Publications, Levisham, 1997. Price: £7.95.

Most of this book is a transcript of a diary for 1913 kept by John Brough, a 17-year-old farm labourer. He earned £19 12s. 11d. that year and saved £5 10s. of it. John played the cornet in the Stape band, attended the Methodist chapel, used the village reading room, cycled to Malton, travelled by train to see the Whitby regatta and even bought a gramophone. His diary is preceded by extracts from the memoirs of John Skelton (1793–1831), an evangelical preacher, son and brother of rectors of Levisham, and from those of Janet and Beatrice, daughters of James Walker, lord of the manor from 1856 to 1866. The book, attractively illustrated by contemporary photographs and maps, will be useful to social and agricultural historians for details of daily life in a farming community in the North York Moors. There is a helpful commentary, but although it is stated incidentally that Brough's diary is owned by his son and is one of several, including one of his time as a P.O.W. in Germany, we are never told whom he married and when he died.

York

R.M. Butler

DISRAELI'S FELLOW TRAVELLER: JAMES CLAY M.P. FOR HULL. By JOHN MARKHAM 21 × 15 cm. Pp. vi and 158. 9 illus. Beverley: Highgate Publications, 1997. Price £12.95 (pb).

Travels in the Mediterranean with Disraeli in 1830–31 initiated a life-long friendship. However the future Conservative Prime Minister was a political star while the affluent card-playing Clay was a Liberal back-bencher, serving for Hull from 1847 until his death in 1873. The powerful orator was much admired locally by identifying himself with a number of radical causes; in the Commons he was a lack-lustre assiduous member enjoying his national reputation as 'The King of Whist'. Markham has given a lucid and well-researched account.

TWO ANGLO-SAXON BUILDINGS AND ASSOCIATED FINDS (WHARRAM: A STUDY OF SETTLEMENT ON THE WOLDS: VII). By GUSTAV MILNE and JULIAN D. RICHARDS. 29.5 × 21 cm. Pp. vi and 114, Figs. 44, Tables 17, Pls. 16. York University Archaeological Publications 9: 1992. Price: not stated. ISBN 0 946722 09 9.

This monograph reports on excavations at two sites, probably occupied in the mid-eighth century and quickly back-filled in one operation. A wide range of material is examined in considerable detail. Dr Richards summarises the evidence from these and other Wharram Percy sites; he argues for a high status settlement, possibly monastic, spread throughout the valley.

MEDICAL PRACTICE IN MEDIEVAL YORK. By PHILIP STELL 21 × 14.5 cm. Pp. iv and 36. (Borthwick Paper 90). University of York, 1996. Price: £3.

This short but thorough study examines the teaching and practice of medicine by the qualified physicians and the artisan barber-surgeons. The range of diseases and the various treatments are examined. The success rate was seldom recorded.

CHARLOTTE BRONTE AND HER 'DEAREST NELL'. By BARBARA WHITEHEAD. 25 × 17.5 cm. Pp. xiv and 298, Illus. 71. Smith Settle, Otley, 1993. Price: £11.50.

Strong on detail and persuasively written, this book is principally concerned with the development of a sensitive and warm friendship between Charlotte Bronte and Ellen Nussey between 1831 and 1855. It then details the generous sharing of her letters and memories by Ellen over the next forty years and the unscrupulous biographers who took advantage of her protective instincts towards Charlotte's reputation. Mrs Whitehead creates the family background and the social relationships: she evokes a clear sense of place by use of drawings, photographs and maps. The volume is full of local colour and incident by frequent reference to carefully researched original sources, mainly Charlotte's letters to Ellen.

All communications relative to the Editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, R.M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., 32 Green Lane, Aeomb, York YO2 3DL from whom a list of conventions must be obtained by intending contributors.

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